

After the South African inquiry into the murderous attack on striking miners clears politicians...

## The truth about the Marikana massacre

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# Socialist Worker

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LONDON...ATHENS...BERLIN



Protesters carrying signs and banners reading Oxi—Greek for No—outside the Greek parliament

Photo: PA

# MAKE THE BANKERS PAY!

**TENS OF thousands of people rallied outside the Greek parliament on Monday of this week.**

Socialist Niki Argiri told Socialist Worker, “It was one of the biggest demonstrations for years. Workers came out to tell the government and the European Union we say no to austerity.”

A new austerity package was set to be

put to the vote this Sunday.

Niki says, “We’re organising to stop the bankers’ blackmail—and the compromises of the government that led to it. That fight has to continue after the referendum.”

“It’s good to see protests in solidarity taking place all over Europe. Our rulers are afraid of the fightback spreading.”

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## ISLAMOPHOBIA

### Repression and Iraq war created Isis terrorism

SHOCKING attacks carried out in the name of Islamist organisation Isis on Friday of last week killed

38 tourists in Tunisia and 27 Shia Muslims in Kuwait.

In Britain, the Tories are using the latest attacks to justify yet more targeting of Muslims by the security services.

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## IMMIGRATION



### Tories send fence to Calais to stop migrants

TORY PRIME minister David Cameron pledged last week to make Britain a “less easy place for illegal migrants to come to and work in”.

Britain is sending a two mile-long fence to Calais. This is part of a whipping up of racism as the European Union cracks down on migrants.

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## PROTEST

### Join the revolt against the Tories on budget day

THE TUC has called a national demonstration outside the Tory Party conference in Manchester on 4 October.

Protesters also plan to demonstrate across Britain on Wednesday of next week—when the Tories unveil their emergency budget.

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## THE THINGS THEY SAY

**'Why aren't you even standing? That's the question we all want to know'**

London mayor **Boris Johnson** to an audience member at a "State of London" debate last week

**'Because I'm in a wheelchair'**

The audience member's reply

**'We need to approach this issue of Muslim extremism as we might approach World War Two'**

Former Chief of the Defence Staff Lord Richards

**'What you need in France is Margaret Thatcher'**

Tory transport minister **Robert Goodwill** is unnerved by last week's port strikes

**'It was meant to be a punch in the face for Tsiprias'**

European Union official on the Greek bailout negotiations

**'Walk onto Holborn tube. Man shouts, "Oh my god it's Nick Clegg"'**

Ed Miliband on life as an ex Labour Party leader



# Queen gets a regal pay rise of 23 percent—paid for by you

**THE QUEEN** pocketed a £9 million pay rise in three years. That is an impressive 23 percent.

The Crown Estate returned record profits of £285 million last year so the queen is expected to receive a further £2 million in public funding next year.

Her estimated fortune is £340 million, up £10 million from last year, according to the Sunday Times Rich List.

But that is a gross underestimate.

The main source of the queen's public income comes from the Sovereign Grant—a fixed percentage of the profits made by the Crown Estate.

That's the pay rise.

The Crown Estate is a commercial property business, with one of the largest property portfolios in Britain. It owns Ascot

racecourse and nearly all of London's Regent Street. Its capital value is at a historic high of £11.5 billion.

Last year the Sovereign Grant was £37.9 million. Then there is the privy purse—a private income for the queen.

Funds for the privy purse come mostly from the Duchy of Lancaster, a portfolio of land, property and assets owned by the queen which is managed separately from the Crown Estate.

The portfolio consists of

18,454 hectares of land in England and Wales, and comprises commercial, agricultural and residential property. From this the queen got £13.3 million.

The Duchy of Cornwall funds separately The Prince of Wales.

Both have been made exempt from paying corporation tax by the government because, well you know.

The queen dabbles in the stock market. Her shares are worth roughly £110 million.

She also has the royal stamp collection, art, jewels, cars, horses, Balmoral Castle, that sort of thing.

Finally, is the Royal Collection, which includes the Crown Jewels and works of art.

It contains more than a million objects and is worth £10 billion.

## WINDSOR WEALTH

**UKIP CANDIDATE** Steve Latham pronounced, "We face Europe's fusion with the Third World. The interracial marriage produces each year thousands of young people of mixed race." "Everyone must see this truth, that European Integration amounts to genocide."

Latham is standing for Ukip in a council by-election in Sandwell on 9 July.

Steve Latham

**EVEN IN** death, Margaret Thatcher hates taxes. More than £1 million of inheritance tax owed by the Thatcher Foundation has been "paid in lieu" by the donation of her personal papers to the nation. Its website offers "free access to thousands of historical documents"—free in this case meaning £1 million.

## Unions' missing Labour voters

**THE LABOUR** Party leadership election will let us see the state of the party's membership if nothing else. Around 45,000 people have joined the party since the election.

Almost half of those joined in just four days following Labour's defeat.

Non-member supporters can register for a vote for £3, and members of affiliated trade unions can sign up for free.

So far, 9,115 people have signed up as supporters, and 3,788 have signed up through their union. Some in Labour claim the

low figures are due to unions holding onto the registration information until the last minute. Perhaps. Perhaps not.

Some 14 unions are affiliated to the Labour Party with some three million potential voters.

**AT LEAST** three Labour MPs running for chairmanships of Parliamentary committees who had nominated Jeremy Corbyn, had to rely on the votes of Tories after Labour whips ordered Labour MPs not to vote for them. It was revenge for backing Corbyn even formally.

Labour

## Sorry for your loss that'll be £41.36p

**THE** Department for Work and Pensions demanded Rachel Degaetano refund benefits paid to her son in the days following his death.

Just two months after Chae killed himself, his grieving mum Rachel received a letter from the Department for Work and Pensions stating that £41.36 had been incorrectly paid into Chae's account.

The sum—which was employment allowance—covered the four days following his death and was

paid automatically.

The DWP letter stated it was "sorry to hear" about Chae's death before adding "we hope you will appreciate that when public funds are incorrectly paid we are obliged to ask for them to be refunded."

"I had just come home from work and the letter was on the table. I opened it, sat there and just cried."

Rachel has now sent a letter back to the government department which states her "utter disgust" at its actions.



Rachael Degaetano

## Anyone for Tennis?

**CULTURE** secretary John Whittingdale should be commended after ceding the honour of travelling to Vancouver to watch the England women's football team in the World Cup final to his deputy.

He said, "The final is on a very busy sporting weekend. There's the British Grand Prix too." Not to mention the equally opulent hospitality of Wimbledon.

Oh, and a long-haul from Canada may spoil the cricket the following Thursday.

**ALL RISE**

**£8.7m**

Amount government paid to G4S for electronic tagging equipment between March 2014 and February 2015

**£4.5m**

Amount government paid to Serco for electronic tagging equipment between March 2014 and February 2015. Both contracts were cancelled in 2013

## Made in Chelsea

**TORY** MP, councillor and London Assembly Member Lady Victoria Borwick was last year appointed to a council committee and then failed to turn up to a single meeting.

Borwick—who lives with her hereditary peer husband in a £6.6 million home—was a member of the Administration Committee on Kensington and Chelsea Borough Council. The £10,000 in allowances were worth every penny.

In 2013 Borwick voted in favour of £64 million fire service cuts in City Hall on 25 February and then voted against the same closures in the council chamber nine days later.

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# Glasgow parents warn of civil disobedience at cuts

by RAYMIE KIERNAN

**PARENTS AND council workers are up in arms over Glasgow City Council's latest cuts plan.**

The Labour-run council wants to slash £103 million by 2018—on top of millions already cut—and impose 3,000 job losses.

Councillors plan to “save” £600,000 by increasing the qualifying distance for giving free bus travel for primary and secondary school children in the city.

This would snatch free travel from over 1,800 children and hit the poorest the hardest.

Angry at another broken promise from Labour, some 100 parents and children stormed the city chambers and blocked roads outside on Thursday of last week.

“They don’t represent us,” Peter Byrne, who lives in Glasgow’s Maryhill area, told Socialist Worker.

“There isn’t a primary school left in Maryhill—they shut them down six years ago.

“We were told there would be indefinite free bus travel for children to travel to school.”

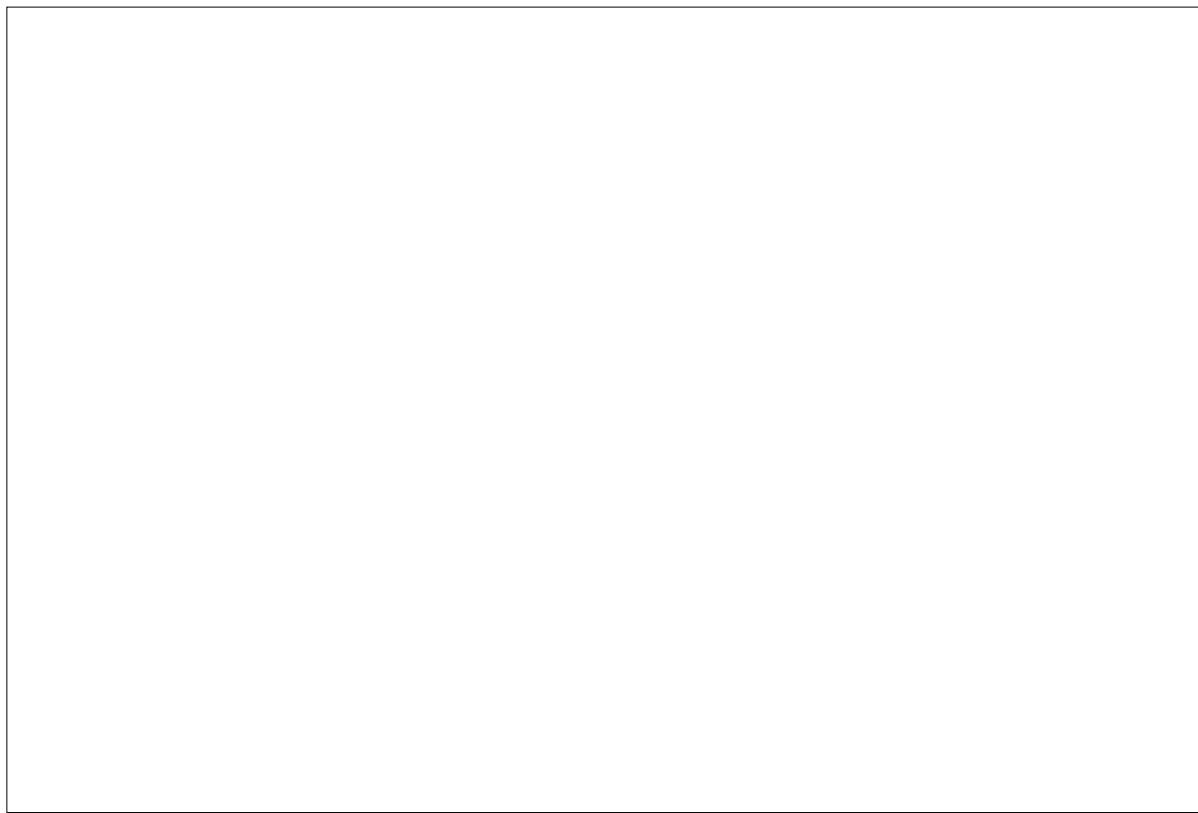
Parents are worried about the lack of safe walking routes to schools and the cost to people in some of the most deprived areas of Britain.

Peter said, “You can’t expect young children to go on the bus on their own. So it’s not just the £1.20 return journey, it’s another £4 for the adult.

“When you start adding that up it’s a lot of money.”

He said the campaign in his area, where parents fought the closures in 2009 and occupied schools, was making links with groups across the city. “We hope we can encourage people to stand up for themselves,” he said.

Glasgow council is in crisis. Council Labour leader and Scottish Labour deputy leader hopeful Gordon



**PARENTS AND children blocked a road in Glasgow last week in protest at cuts**

PICTURE: DUNCAN BROWN

## BACK STORY

**The Labour council in Glasgow plans to make millions in cuts**

● The cuts hit the poorest the hardest—such as the plan to take free bus travel from some children

● Councillors also want to drive through some 3,000 job cuts by 2018, devastating more services

● Labour has lost support because it is making cuts and because it opposed independence

● The party is in crisis in Scotland with its leader in Glasgow facing calls for his resignation

Matheson faced calls for his resignation at a council Labour group meeting last week.

He said he would step down early next year.

Labour could lose control of the authority it has held for 35 years at the 2017 council elections.

The party is toxic for many because of its betrayals of working class people and its alliance with the Tories in the independence referendum.

That referendum created a sense that it’s possible to fight back.

Arguments for a different kind of society created a social movement that hasn’t gone away—and flares up in unexpected ways.

Peter warned council leaders, “If the buses aren’t reinstated, on the first day of the new school term there could be civil disobedience.”

Like the striking homelessness caseworkers (see page 19), the Save Our School Buses campaigners are showing how to resist.

Waiting for the next election is not an option.

Save Our School Buses march, assemble 1pm, Thursday 2 July, Maryhill Hub, 186 Wyndford Road, Glasgow, G20 8HF

## What’s your story?

Email with your ideas  
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## Join revolt against Tories

THE TUC has called a national demonstration outside the Tory Party conference in Manchester on 4 October.

And protesters plan to demonstrate in towns and cities across Britain on Wednesday of next week—the day Tory chancellor George Osborne delivers his emergency budget.

The People’s Assembly protest last month helped to reignite the fightback against the Tories.

It gave confidence to many who felt demoralised after the Tory election victory in May.

And it drew in wider layers of new activists ready to join the resistance.

Martin is a People’s Assembly activist in Manchester. He told Socialist Worker, “The demo is an opportunity to build a movement to really challenge the Tories.

“That will mean strikes. The trade union leaders aren’t really calling those at the moment—but this demo will give confidence to people who want to fight.”

Find your nearest budget day protest at thepeoplesassembly.org.uk/calendar

Cameron—out!

## IN BRIEF

### Crush cop was ‘inexperienced’

POLICE OFFICERS thought Hillsborough victim Colin Ashcroft was dead because of his “appearance” and “comments” from others, an inquest court has heard.

Former constable Andrew Mackay said his view was partly due to “inexperience”.

Inquests into the deaths of 96 fans who died as a result of the 1989 disaster continue.

### Janner could face abuse trial

LORD JANNER should be charged with child abuse offences, a review by David Perry QC has concluded.

This follows a decision by the director of public prosecutions not to prosecute Janner.

A trial is expected to cover 22 alleged offences from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

### Council cuts target babies

COUNCILS ACROSS England are slashing support services for new mothers and babies.

The cuts hit breastfeeding classes, home visits from midwives and children’s centres.

Campaigns to stop the cuts in Leicestershire and Lewisham, south east London, have won reprieves.

### New attack on NHS spending

SENIOR TORY Gary Porter has called for an end to the ringfencing of NHS spending.

Porter is head of the Local Government Association.

He said protecting the NHS is a “bizarre policy”.

## IN THIS WEEK

# 1981

### Cops under attack in Toxteth riots

RIOTS BROKE out in Toxteth, Liverpool, on 5 July 1981.

Anger at police racism saw black and white people unite to take on the police. People charged at cops with milk floats and attacked them with bricks.

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# Workers in Greece can strike blow in austerity referendum

by DAVE SEWELL

**BANKS WERE** closed across Greece on Monday of this week in the run-up to a planned referendum on Sunday.

Prime minister Alexis Tsipras called the shock referendum last week, as Greece's creditors escalated their blackmail.

These institutions, formerly known as the “Troika”, are the European Union (EU), the European Central Bank (ECB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

They're demanding brutal austerity in exchange for extending Greece's bailout programme, which expired on Tuesday of this week.

The programme amounts to lending the Greek government money for it to give back straight away as debt repayments.

After previous governments agreed to do the institutions' dirty work, people elected Tsipras' left wing Syriza party in January to break the cycle.

But it has made compromise after compromise. Last week Syriza agreed to deep cuts, privatisations and tax hikes worth £5.7 billion a year.

Finance minister Yanis Varoufakis described it as “austrian”—but the institutions demanded more.

## Demanded

IMF boss Christine Lagarde called for benefit cuts that would slash 60 percent off the poorest pensioners' incomes.

This would be particularly devastating as unemployment left whole families reliant on pensioners' incomes.

The institutions also want to attack workers' rights and rule out any debt restructuring.

The referendum asks Greek workers whether to accept these proposals.

Christos Arghyris is a radiologist at Gennimatas hospital in Athens.



Christine Lagarde

## BACK STORY

**Prime minister Alexis Tsipras has called a referendum on a proposed deal with Greece's creditors**

- People elected his left wing Syriza party to break with austerity
- But it's made endless concessions in negotiations
- Its creditors don't want to make any compromises
- But a no vote can strike a blow against Europe's rulers and bosses

He told Socialist Worker, “I'm convinced all my colleagues will be voting no.

## Blackmail

“We're facing the greatest blackmail in the world—and this is our chance to reject it.

“The hospitals are collapsing with lack of staff. If more cuts go through we won't be able to treat everybody. “We're the worst paid doctors in Europe.

“Colleagues abroad are shocked when I tell them I work 110 hours a week for a salary of just £710 a month.”

Tens of thousands attended rallies calling for a no vote on Monday evening of this week, including in Athens' central Syntagma Square.

Workers from all of Athens' hospitals met on Monday evening and called on their unions to make sure people turning up without cash would be treated for free.

Christos said, “The alternative is to drop the debt—and workers have to take control.

“We thought the new government would pour billions into health, but we've been disappointed.

“Now it's up to us to keep the hospitals open.

“That means a big no vote on Sunday—and strikes and demonstrations

GREEK WORKERS protesting against austerity last Sunday

# Why is Greece in so much debt? A brief background to the crisis

## 1 Why is Greece in debt?

**BANKERS LOANED** billions to the Greek government in the 2000s to gamble on rapid growth.

Greece was especially profitable, because the euro tied its relatively weak economy to countries such as Germany.

But the banks tried to call in their debts after the crisis hit in 2007-08. The Greek economy shrank during the recession and tax revenues fell.

Fearing it wouldn't pay back its loans, the bankers charged higher and higher interest rates.

The bailout was really a bailout of these bankers.

The institutions made sure they got paid—most of the loan money went straight to them without paying for anything in Greece.

## 2 Shouldn't Greeks learn to live within their means?

GREEK WORKERS have to work some of the longest hours on

some of the lowest wages in Europe.

Public services have suffered devastating cuts.

It's true that their pension age is lower than in many other countries.

But this is partly a way of masking unemployment among older workers.

## 3 What is the International Monetary Fund (IMF)?

THE IMF was set up after the Second World War to lend money to governments that can't get loans privately.

But in return it gets to demand conditions.

Britain's Labour government had to go “cap in hand” to the IMF in 1976 after the rich turned against it.

The IMF demanded Labour made cuts deeper than anything Margaret Thatcher would do.

In the 1980s and 90s the IMF imposed devastating “structural adjustment” programmes on African, Asian and Latin

American countries.

These privatisation and free market reforms led to widespread poverty and rocketing food prices.

## 4 Will Greece have to leave the euro?

NEITHER THE Greek government nor its creditors want this.

For leaders in other eurozone countries, the euro helps boost exports.

It is also gives them a powerful tool to control the Greek government.

It puts its “monetary policy”—such as setting interest rates—in the hands of the European Central Bank.

There is no automatic reason that Greece would be forced out.

No one can stop it using the euro as a currency. Kosovo and Montenegro aren't in the EU but use it.

But the Greek anti-capitalist left demands that Greece leaves the EU that forces austerity on it, and default on the bankers' debt.

# Bank worker says, ‘We have to go out on strike’

AFTER queues began appearing at cash machines over the weekend, the Greek government declared banks closed and some capital controls from Monday until after the referendum.

This is intended to stop bankers taking their money out of the country.

But bank clerk Panayotis Polydoras told Socialist Worker, “The real question is who runs the banks—who is imposing controls and why.

“There were capital controls in Cyprus in 2012. But ordinary people lost money, while bankers were still sneaking it abroad.

“We told our bosses there was a problem and the cash machines needed refilling. They said, ‘We are in charge, not you’.

“Now there are people who can't get the money they

need for things like medicine.”

The government has kept some bank branches open to serve pensioners.

It has also suspended bill payments due to be made in the week and made public transport temporarily free.

But for people pushed to the brink of poverty these measures don't go far enough.

Bank workers were meeting to discuss action as Socialist Worker went to press.

Panayotis said, “This is not going to be over in a week.

“There's only one solution to stop big business making big withdrawals and to make sure wages and pensions get paid.

“We have to go on strike and get our unions to take control.”

# The creditors’ ‘project fear’

RIGHT WING and liberal parties were set to protest the day after Monday's protests against the deal.

Their main demand is for the referendum to be cancelled.

The institutions are so outraged they've said their “offer” no longer stands.

But if the referendum goes ahead they want a yes vote.

Panos Garganas, editor of Socialist Worker's sister paper Workers' Solidarity, said, “It's pure blackmail.

“The institutions are collaborating with the

austerity, it would set a precedent for workers across Europe. That's why the institutions want to crush the Syriza government, not compromise.

Panos said, “Syriza's support for a no vote has been lukewarm, but the protest could change that.

“They were preparing for a compromise, and only called a referendum at the last minute.

“That's partly because of the institution's intransigence, but also because of rising workers' resistance.”

# Referendum angers rulers

European Commission president Jean-Claude Juncker slammed the referendum in a hectoring speech this week.

Junker called the decision to hold a vote a “heavy blow” to the “European conscience”. He suggested that a no

vote would mean leaving the euro, and advised Greeks “not to commit suicide for fear of death”.

German chancellor Angela Merkel also played the martyr. She said, “There is again and again the question whether, for once,

principles can be put

aside. But we have to say we can't do this.”

That would be the principle of squeezing ordinary workers to pay back the bankers.

Meanwhile David Cameron said a yes vote would be in “Britain's best interests”—which he surely knows best.

**Socialist Worker**  
WHAT WE THINK

# TURN THE TORIES’ FEARS INTO REAL RESISTANCE

**T**HETORIES have set up a “hit squad” to combat strikes.

They know their plans for the next round of cuts will have a devastating impact on working class people—and they expect to face resistance.

Tory cabinet minister Matthew Hancock has declared he has a team of no less than 73 officials who are talking to public sector bosses about breaking strikes.

They want to identify workers who will cross picket lines. They have lawyers ready to go through every strike ballot to try and rule them illegal.

They are working on a law change included in the Tory manifesto so they can officially use agency workers to replace strikers.

In other words, they want to make it legal to bring in scabs to break a dispute.

If strikes weren't effective and made no difference, they wouldn't be spending all this time and resources working out how to beat them.

It shows they think they are not going to get an easy ride—so we shouldn't give them one.

Jobs are going every day. The

Tory head of local government bosses has said that a million public sector jobs have been cut since 2010.

And he warned that the scale of the next round of job cuts could reach between 250,000 and 500,000.

Funding cuts are constantly driven through and services that used to be lifelines for people are disappearing.

Hancock also announced that the government was going to launch a crackdown on people who are “fiddling the tax payer”.

But he doesn't mean the big companies and fat cat bosses who don't pay tax on their millions.

He wants to attack the poorest,



**It's workers' collective class power that scares the Tories and the bosses most**

# HOW THE MIGHTY FELL

**D**ESPITE ATTEMPTS to whitewash government collusion, the official report into South Africa's Marikana massacre (see pages 10 and 11) taints the ruling African National Congress (ANC).

Cops opened fire on striking miners in 2012, killing dozens.

The ANC's heroic struggle against the racist apartheid regime inspired millions around the world.

But the organisation's belief that the only way to bring freedom to workers and the poor was to

develop South African capitalism was a fatal flaw.

Former revolutionaries adapted to neoliberal ideas and abandoned any commitment to equality as they become fantastically rich company directors.

Unions are now expected to act in the interests of South Africa's ruling class, not their members.

The memory of the struggle against apartheid still gives the ANC mass support. But the ANC only sees the interests of the state.

unemployed people, or those who have to rely on benefits. He claims they are the problem.

Where's the opposition to these attacks? The 250,000 who marched against austerity on 20 June showed how widespread the anger against the Tories is. People want to see the Tories get a kicking.

Labour is not leading any resistance to the new round of austerity, and it bound up in an internal leadership election campaign for another two months.

It's workers' collective class power that scares the Tories and bosses.

Strikes hurt them. Yet the union leaders are not out there campaigning for mass walkouts that could stop the Tories in their tracks.

If the Tories are getting ready for a mass fightback and public sector strike then shouldn't we?

Ordinary people who are forced to rely on the welfare state didn't cause the crisis.

It is the bosses and the bankers—that's why we should make them pay.

But to do that it's going to take a fight. It's time we made the union leaders start leading one.

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## ANALYSIS

ALEX CALLINICOS



## Build movements—not Labour's project

**JEREMY CORBYN is my local Member of Parliament. He is one on the most admirable figures on the left in Britain.**

Year in, year out, he has used his position as Labour MP for Islington North to support all sorts of campaigns and causes. Corbyn is particularly noteworthy for his internationalism. This has been expressed over the years notably in his commitment to different Latin America solidarity campaigns.

He is also a stalwart of the anti-war movement. I well remember his speech—alongside Arundhati Roy among others—at the magical, massive night-time opening ceremony of the World Social Forum in Mumbai in 2004. Now he plays an important role as chair of the Stop the War Coalition.

So Corbyn is an excellent standard-bearer for the left in the Labour Party leadership election. His success in getting onto the leadership election ballot was met with widespread enthusiasm at the great People's Assembly End Austerity Now demonstration last month.

Corbyn's candidacy has galvanised the Labour left into activity. For the first time in many years Labour Party campaigners can be seen fanning out on demonstrations to get support for his candidacy.

He has also turned the leadership campaign into a real political debate. The three dreary mainstream candidates have been competing to see which can kowtow most profoundly to the media and big business. They now find themselves confronted with a challenge by a socialist who opposes austerity and champions peace and social justice.

I think we can see Corbyn's candidacy as one of those elements that, in a fairly grim situation, are freshening up politics. Other examples are the political earthquake in Scotland and the impact of the women leaders of the Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru, and the Greens during the general election debates. So anti-capitalists and socialists, whether or not they are members of Labour Party, should hope Corbyn wins as many votes as possible.

### Encourage

The odds are stacked against him, but the more votes he gets, the more he can help encourage resistance on the ground to austerity.

But—yes, I'm afraid there is a but—backing Corbyn's candidacy isn't the same as endorsing the political project he represents. As a left wing Labour MP since 1983, he stands for turning Labour into a genuine socialist party.

This idea is expressed rather vaguely in the statement declaring his candidacy, "Our party must become a social movement again." He argues that this can be achieved by "building on our party's unique base: our trade union link to millions of working people, our quarter of a million members, and our growing band of registered supporters".

But anyone familiar with the history of the Labour Party knows that its leaders have tended rather to hold back or oppose real social movements—strikes, protests, and the like. We could go back to Ramsay MacDonald and the 1926 General Strike or Neil Kinnock and the Great Miners' Strike of 1984-5.

But take a more recent event, the student revolt in 2010. I remember Corbyn and another left MP, John McDonnell, with the students in Whitehall during one particularly tense situation. But Ed Miliband and the rest of the party leadership were nowhere to be found.

The gap between Labour and genuine social struggles isn't the fault of bad leaders. It reflects Labour's character as an electoral party whose objective is to win a parliamentary majority and manage capitalism. It is governed by the rhythms of electoral politics and not those of social struggles.

The connections with social movements have grown weaker in the past couple of decades, particularly thanks to Tony Blair's imperialist warmongering. Miliband succeeded in restricting the role of the trade unions with the party.

Members of affiliated unions can still sign up as supporters and vote in the leadership election but, according to the latest figures, only 3,788 people have.

The left would benefit if the Corbyn campaign succeeded in reviving Labour's grassroots. But our aim should be to build movements that are strong and confident enough not to be subordinated to the priorities of electoral politics.

# Tories send fence to Calais to shut more migrants out

by TOMÁŠ TENGEY-EVANS

**TORY PRIME minister David Cameron pledged last week to make Britain a "less easy place for illegal migrants to come to and work in".**

This is part of a whipping up of racism as the European Union (EU) cracks down on migrants from outside its borders.

In the same speech Cameron slammed the "chaos" in the port of Calais during a lorry drivers' strike as "totally unacceptable".

Britain is sending a two mile-long fence to Calais to make it more difficult for migrants to board lorries and Channel Tunnel services.

Many are fleeing the poverty and war caused by Western imperialism.

Around 3,000 people are now living in desperate conditions in a camp known as the "jungle".

This is just one of the fences that is being built across the EU to shut migrants out.

### Dominated

Cameron used an EU summit dominated by the Greek and refugee crises to outline plans to renegotiate Britain's "terms of membership" with the EU.

The main focus for Cameron—and the Tory right—is cracking down on EU migrants.

Leaked documents from a negotiating team show that he's abandoned plans to try and limit immigration under stringent EU opposition.

But that hasn't stopped him from looking for new ways to attack migrants, with new rules making it harder



**BARBED WIRE-topped fence in Calais guarded by cops** (above) migrant at the 'jungle' camp (left)



outside the EU's borders.

It has approved the construction of a 110 mile fence on its southern border with Serbia, which is itself negotiating to join the EU.

### Dangerous

This will make the perilous route even more dangerous for desperate refugees fleeing war in the Middle East and North Africa.

The government has claimed that around 54,000 have crossed the Hungarian border this year compared to 41,000 in 2014.

Hungary is now processing asylum seekers who were registered in the country but have moved since.

This comes off the back of a racist campaign against

migrants and Roma people.

Right wing prime minister Viktor Orban threatened in April this year to build forced labour camps for "illegal migrants".

Meanwhile migrants' rights campaigners celebrated a setback for the Tories last week.

The High Court ruled that the fast track process for deporting migrants to countries deemed safe is "structurally unfair".

This allowed the government to lock them up in detention prisons with only seven days to appeal before deportation.

**More online...**  
Refugees demand end of 'jungle' hell [bit.ly/1JukWlg](http://bit.ly/1JukWlg)

## Cop tells murder trial, 'I chose to take Azelle's life'

**THE AZELLE Rodney trial has heard evidence from the cop accused of his 2005 murder.**

Anthony Long testified in his own defence last week. He denies murder.

He said he fired eight shots, two striking Azelle in the top of his head, because he feared Azelle had picked up a gun. He said he had not seen him with a gun in his hand.

Azelle was a passenger in a car in north London being followed by the police, who believed the occupants had weapons and were planning to rob



Anthony Long

drug dealers.

Azelle was sitting in the rear seat of a Volkswagen Golf as Long pulled up alongside him in an unmarked police car. Other police cars boxed in the suspects' vehicle.

Long told the court, "All I had was seconds to make the decision whether I was going to let my colleagues be shot by someone with a submachine gun or whether I was going to take life."

"I chose to take his life. That was the decision I made and I stand by it."

Annette Mackin

# Isis terrorism created by repression and Iraq war

by JUDITH ORR

**SHOCKING ATTACKS** carried out in the name of Islamist organisation Isis on Friday of last week killed 38 tourists in Tunisia and 27 Shia Muslims in Kuwait.

The motives behind a murder of a factory manager in Lyon in France on the same day are still not clear. Yet the media was quick to call it a terrorist attack.

Witnesses at the scene of the attack in Sousse in Tunisia describe the courage of local people whose actions saved many lives.

They stood between the gunman and tourists saying, “You’ll have to get past us and we’re Muslims.”

Tunisia saw the first of the revolutions of the Arab Spring. But the hopes for a better life among the poorest have been dashed—feeding disillusionment and bitterness.

This can lead to a search for desperate solutions. The gunman’s family lived in Gaafour, a poor town near the capital Tunis.

Jaouhar Bani, a Tunisian socialist living in Britain, told Socialist Worker, “Conditions have been worsening in Tunisia, especially for the poorest.”

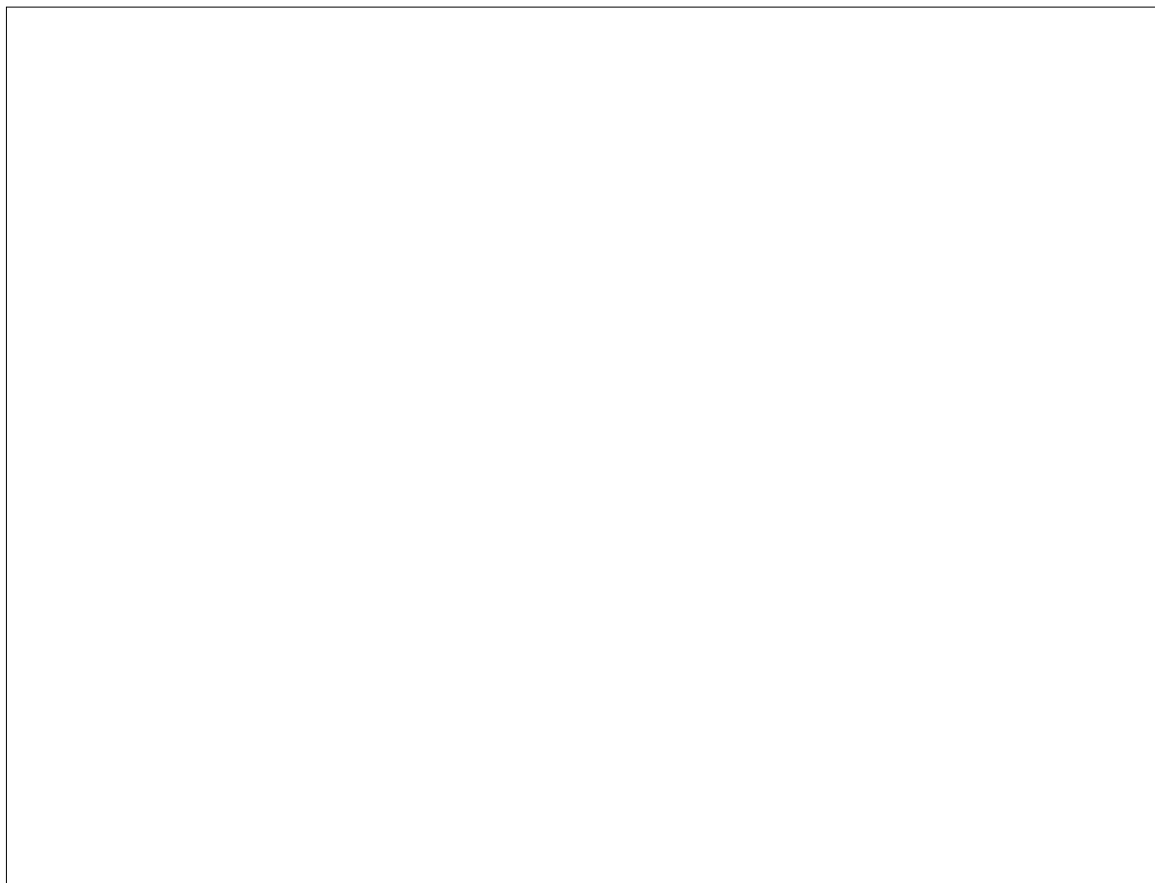
The Tunisian government has responded to the attack by declaring it will shut down 80 mosques it claims are “extremist”.

Jaouhar said, “There will be calls for even tougher anti-terrorism measures, but the government is not completely confident.

“The counter-revolution and repression are increasing, although at a slow pace.”

The attack in Kuwait which left over 200 injured received much less attention. The victims were at prayer when they were killed by a suicide bomber from Saudi Arabia.

Western politicians don’t want



**FUNERAL FOR victims of the attack on a Kuwait mosque**

the finger of blame pointed at the Saudi regime, their key ally in the region.

In Britain, Tories David Cameron and Theresa May are using the latest attacks to justify yet more targeting of Muslims by the security services (see below).

Cameron whipped up Islamophobia, claiming that “our way of life” was being attacked.

May called on parents to report their children and their friends if they think they might be becoming

“radicalised.” But the racist portrayal of all Muslims as potential terrorists will make the situation worse.

Young Muslims in Britain did not create Isis. This is not about religion. Isis is a reactionary sectarian group that kills more Muslims every week than were killed in the Tunisia attack.

The West used sectarianism to impose its control after the imperialist war and occupation of Iraq. Isis is a product of the chaos and

devastation left behind by war and the sectarian government the West installed. It wins backing by posing as an anti-imperialist force.

Now the West is driving increased military interventions in Iraq, Syria, Yemen and elsewhere. The threat of more wars and repression will only fuel the bitterness.

**More online...**  
How did the nightmare of Isis happen? [bit.ly/1Ly46b6](http://bit.ly/1Ly46b6)

## Media’s hypocrisy over attacks

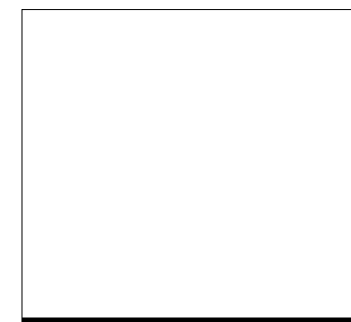
by ANNETTE MACKIN

NAZI ZACK Davies was found guilty last week of the attempted murder of dentist Dr Sarandev Bhambra in Mold, Flintshire, in January.

Sarandev was left with serious injuries to his head and back after Davies attacked him in a supermarket with a hammer and machete. His hand was almost severed.

The trial at Mold crown court heard how Davies screamed “white power” during the assault and told onlookers it was “revenge” for Lee Rigby.

Davies is a member of Nazi group National Action, a rump



**Nazi attacker Zack Davies**

of young fascists that grew out of the crises in the British National Party.

When police searched his home in north Wales they found an extensive collection of books on Nazi ideology. This included The Turner Diaries by US white supremacist William Luther Pierce, a book that inspired Nazi nail bomber David Copeland.

The trial verdict was demoted to page 21 of the next day’s Sun newspaper.

In contrast it devoted the front page and two inside pages on the case of Nicholas Salvador. Last week he was cleared of the murder of his great-grandmother on grounds of insanity.

The Sun broke the story last September with the front page, “‘Muslim convert’ beheads woman.”

It re-ran a picture of the same front page last week, noting that Salvador was “at one time a follower of Islam”.

## PREVENT STRATEGY

# ‘Tories pressure teachers to be against Muslims’

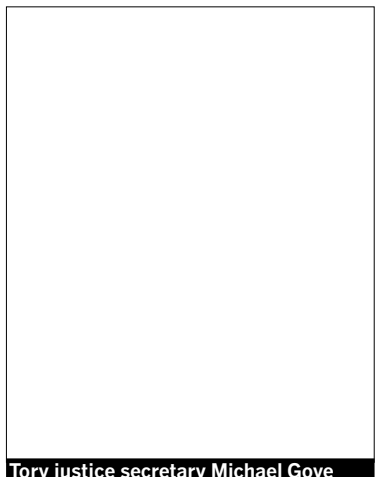
by TOMÁŠ TENGELY-EVANS

THE TORIES’ new terror act came into force this week. It treats all Muslims as suspects.

The act includes a beefed up version of New Labour’s racist Prevent strategy. It forces teachers, health workers and local government workers to act as spies.

They have a duty to report signs of “radicalisation”—including anyone who disagrees with “fundamental British values”. So do childminders of infants as young as three.

Some 70 people attended a



**Tory justice secretary Michael Gove**

meeting against Prevent hosted by the Palestine Solidarity Campaign in London last week.

East London pupil Iqra Nawab told Socialist Worker the crackdown is already creating an atmosphere of suspicion.

“David Cameron and Michael Gove are putting pressure on teachers to be against Muslims,” she said. “The school banned Friday prayers, we’re not allowed to read certain books and social media is monitored. One student was excluded for a tweet.”

The act wants to clamp down on all aspects of Muslim life.

Iqra said, “If you have a beard or wear certain clothes that are

religious, it’s automatically seen to be ‘extremist’. People are fearful at the moment—some are scared of going into school.

“I had a religious book with me. The teacher took it and said it was Antisemitic—but I know it’s not. I said, ‘I’m not going to join Isis.’ But they just started mocking me for my religion.”

The NUT teachers’ and UCU lecturers’ union conferences passed policies opposing Prevent. They must now refuse to comply and stand in unity with Muslims to beat this racist attack. Iqra said, “We’re fearful, but the only way we can react is to do something about it.”

## FIGURE IT OUT

**48** US citizens were killed by Nazi, white supremacist and other racist terrorists in the past 14 years

**26** were killed by self-proclaimed jihadists, a new report says



# Protesters march in London to put the politics back into Pride

Young and old activists united in a show of opposition to the Tories and the bigots at this year's Pride march, says **Tomáš Tengely-Evans**

**TENS OF thousands of people marched through London last Saturday for the annual Pride march.**

Around 1,000 marched with Lesbian and Gays Support the Miners (LGSM) on the trade union bloc to chants of "LGSM fight the Tory scum again".

Daniel came to the march from Pembrokeshire in Wales. He told Socialist Worker, "Here it's about fighting for our rights.

"You wouldn't get these sorts of chants on the corporate bloc with Barclays. They all seem so fake. There's no passion."

RMT, Aslef, NUT and UCU union members were among many on the march. There were also banners from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), whose members led Pride 30 years ago.

## Miners

Liz French from Kent NUM and Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC) told Socialist Worker, "The miners supported LGBT rights and the fight against apartheid.

"We're still here showing solidarity with the working class—perhaps if we all stood up we could get rid of the corrupt bosses."

Sixth form students in the Northern Community Feminism Society organised a coach from Pontefract, West Yorkshire.

Beth from the group was angry about the business hijacking of Pride. She told Socialist Worker, "It shouldn't be corporate. You shouldn't try and make money out of people's rights."

Anne Scargill from WAPC was also on the coach. She told

## BACK STORY

**This year's Pride march drew tens of thousands of people**

- Many young people marched alongside trade unionists and veteran campaigners
- Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners (LGSM) marched with unions in Bloc C
- Organisers had told LGSM that it could not lead the march with all the trade unionists
- Many marchers were angry at the involvement of commercial firms such as Barclays with Pride

Socialist Worker, "Something's got to be done. I was on the People's Assembly march and I was really surprised at the youth there. There's a lot of young people here too."

LGSM was supposed to lead off Pride this year. But they chose to go to "Bloc C" after the official organisers wouldn't let all trade unionists march with them.

Student Becca told Socialist Worker, "It really pisses me off. I've always liked Pride, but it should be more about fighting."

Workers in disputes also joined the march.

One National Gallery striker told Socialist Worker, "I recently watched the film *Pride*, it's such an amazing story of solidarity. We're fighting the same battles now and this connects all those struggles."



## On other pages...

Disabled activists protest in parliament >> Page 20

## Let's fight for real liberation

**MANY ACTIVISTS** were buoyed by the US Supreme Court's historic ruling on Friday of last week that legalised same sex marriage across the 50 states.

The court ruled against conservative states that had tried to ban same sex marriages.

Same sex marriage was legal in just 36 states before the ruling.

It's a blow to every right wing bigot.

But despite LGBT legal rights

in Turkey, police in Istanbul brutally broke up the long-standing annual Pride march last Sunday.

Cops fired water cannon, rubber pellets and tear gas at marchers.

Sevval Kilic, a transgender activist who helped organise the parade, said, "We are just demanding our basic human rights."

Activists have to fight for LGBT rights as part of a struggle for real liberation.



**LGSM LEADING** the trade union bloc on last Saturday's Pride march in London

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

## ABUSE

# Cops saw vulnerable children as just a 'nuisance' and 'drain on resources'

AN INVESTIGATION into child abuse in Rotherham, south Yorkshire, has identified "hundreds" of suspects including one former and one current councillor.

The National Crime Agency (NCA) is examining 92 boxes of evidence as part of Operation Stovewood.

The investigation follows a report by Professor Alexis Jay last year, which estimated that 1,400 children had suffered child sexual exploitation (CSE) between 1997 and 2013.

Operation Stovewood is investigating non-familial CSE and abuse during that period.

Jay found evidence that some police officers blamed victims for abuse or did not see protecting them as a priority.

A separate investigation by the Independent Police Complaints Commission is looking into complaints against 42 named police officers in relation to CSE.

Complaints include "suggestions of corrupt relationships between police officers and offenders".

● **POLICE KNEW** that abusers were targeting children outside schools and care homes across the West Midlands in March 2010 according to a confidential report.

The Birmingham Mail obtained the police report using the Freedom of Information Act.

The report said nearly half of the identified suspects were Pakistani males and that highlighting the abuse could cause "significant community tensions".

But it seems authorities'

attitudes towards the victims lay behind their failure to act.

A confidential police briefing from October 2009 said officers saw children who run away from care homes as "a nuisance and permanent drain on resources".

● **MOLD CROWN** Court last week found three men guilty of historical sexual offences against children in the Wrexham area during the 1980s.

The men convicted were Gary Cooke, David Lightfoot and Roy Norry.

The jury is still considering charges against a further four men.

Unlike other abuse cases, the mainstream media didn't find it necessary to comment on the ethnicity of the men, who are all white.



## A war on the poor in Scotland

THE TORY plan for Scotland is, in reality, a war against the nation's workers and the poor.

War is utilised by imperialists first and foremost to crush internal enemies.

We see the truth of this in the sad state of Britain's immigration system.

The people behind Dungavel detention centre's walls have escaped from persecution by their governments in their home countries.

They are then treated as prisoners by the British government.

Osborne's austerity has dashed the dreams of many millions and is hitting people living on the streets the hardest.

We have to struggle for better lives for the millions of folks who are in need in this country.

As Mahatma Gandhi, said, "The future depends on what you do today."

**Fuad Alakbarov**  
by email

## Good victory over fracking

I WAS surprised that Lancashire councillors said no to fracking firm Cuadrilla.

But so was Cuadrilla. It will now appeal and keep fighting for the right to drill for shale gas in Lancashire.

We shouldn't think this is the end—we'll have to keep fighting.

**Mary Stephenson**  
Manchester

## Site shows up risk that pollutants pose to kids

AS KIDS we used to toboggan down what we called Mount Trashmore.

The Forest Preserve website describes it as Mount Hoy in Warrenville, Illinois, DuPage County.

In the website's opinion it is a not-so-bad place to visit.

On the Scorecard monitoring website concerned people can see lists with percentage risks of pollutants.

Upon comparing these two websites I was surprised.



ILLUSTRATION: TIM SANDERS

## Tory benefit policies add up to a death sentence for me

I AM sentenced to death by the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). I am 62 years old and waiting for kidney surgery but my health means this has been moved.

I have diabetes and problems with mobility.

Five weeks ago I applied for Employment and Support Allowance (ESA). I was awarded it but have had no payments.

When I applied for ESA I was living with my wife. We have been together for 40 years and jointly claimed Jobseekers Allowance (JSA). But someone in the DWP said she is not a "prospective employee" so JSA was stopped for both of us. My wife borrowed some money and went to her

friends in Germany to survive.

I stayed because I was waiting for surgery and didn't have enough money for travel.

When I informed the DWP that my wife had left, my payments were stopped.

They sent me another form which I sent back immediately, and I was told that a decision would be made within two weeks.

A week ago I got another form—saying I had to prove my right to residency in the UK.

I sent it back immediately and after a week I got a text message from the DWP saying a decision would be made after two weeks.

During all this time I have been without any income.

One of my friends gives me ten or 20 quid from time to time so I am able to buy fresh food. I need it because of my diabetes.

All my bills are unpaid, so my phone and broadband will be cut off soon. I have an old car which helps me to move but I can't pay the insurance.

I am not British. I have lived here for ten years and worked very hard during that period.

I have tried to get jobs as a receptionist, car park attendant, administrator or in customer service.

I feel despair. I have nowhere to escape, I see no solutions for me.

**Jacek Swilas**  
Wakefield

## Racist murders show up double standards

DYLANN ROOF murdered nine black people at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina.

Roof was a known white supremacist.

He wore the flag of the racist states of Rhodesia and apartheid-era South Africa as a badge of his twisted creed.

The media coverage of the atrocity he perpetrated is instructive.

Dylann Roof has not been called a "terrorist".

Dylann Roof has not been called an



Racist killer Dylann Roof

"extremist".

I'm not aware of any calls for local "community leaders" who share Dylann Roof's ethnicity to denounce his actions.

Dylann Roof's "culture" has not been invoked or identified as the motivation behind his crime.

And there has been no attempt to project collective guilt for his crime onto that part of the population who share the same ethnicity as Dylann Roof.

Of course not.

That would be stupid and irrational.

And it only happens when a Muslim carries out a crime.

**Sasha Simic**  
North London

Just a thought...

## Cruelty goes beyond China

IT'S CRUEL skinning dogs and eating them.

But the majority of animals bred for eating in the Western world are kept in hideous conditions.

We need to become more compassionate towards animals and I believe that means not eating them.

**Katrina Lawrie**  
Wigan

## Migrant plan backs the rich

THE TORY plan to deport migrants who earn less than £35,000 a year says it all.

They don't mind rich migrants. It's the poor ones they are targeting.

**Jasmine Widdop**  
Birmingham

## Roma say no to Tory racism

IN THE face of worsening racism and anti-migrant policies, Roma activists plan to highlight past and present anti-Gypsy racism and killings.

An event will take place in London on 2 August from 12 noon at Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial.

**Grattan Puxon**  
Essex

## Are splits a sign of fear?

PRETTY BIZARRE to hear Boris Johnson saying firms should pay better wages.

He was warning David Cameron about "hacking away" at benefits for workers.

Is this a sign that the Tories are worried about their cuts losing them support?

**Kim Stevens**  
South Yorkshire

## Woodhead is finally gone

CHRIS WOODHEAD has died and gone to join Margaret Thatcher in hell.

Good bloody riddance to the bastard.

The former head of schools inspectorate Ofsted wrecked my old school, Islington Green School.

He disrupted the education of all of its pupils and ruined the careers of some brilliant teachers.

**Ken Muller**  
North London



# Marikana survivors and miners' relatives slam inquiry that lets South African state off the hook for massacre

## 'WHO GAVE THE ORDER TO FIRE?'

The South African state's official inquiry into the killing of 34 striking miners in 2012 has provoked shock and disbelief, **Rehad Desai** and **Jim Nichol** told Ken Olende

**POLICE GUNNED down 112 striking platinum miners and killed 34 of them in Marikana, South Africa, in 2012 and threw South African society into crisis.**

Now, three years later, a long-awaited report into the massacre has been released—and miners, their families and supporters have branded it a whitewash.

Lawyer Jim Nichol represented the dead miners' families. He told Socialist Worker, "This weak report doesn't provide any answers to my clients—the 34 widows and mothers and fathers of those who were killed.

"One widow, Betty Gadlela, said to me, 'Why does this report not tell me why they shot my husband as if he was a wild dog?'"

Hundreds of miners and supporters met in Marikana last Sunday to discuss the report. Rehad Desai from the Marikana Support Campaign in South Africa was there. He told Socialist Worker, "The meeting was full of shock and disbelief.

"Lots of miners had given evidence to the inquiry and gave a clear picture

of what had happened. They couldn't see why the final result was so full of inconsistencies and contradictions."

Many at the meeting were furious at the report. Former strike leader Xolani Nzuzza told the meeting the commission that produced the report had wasted its time.

Another worker, Godine Mokotedi, asked, "Who gave orders to kill?"

The massacre took place as miners were on unofficial strike. Many were still in the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) that was associated with the ruling ANC government.

### Breaking

But many were breaking from it, saying it did not represent them, and supporting a new union, Amcu, that led the unofficial action.

The government set up the commission to investigate the massacre. The commission's report takes care to protect key figures in that government.

Cyril Ramaphosa is one of those at the heart of the dispute. In the 1980s he became known as the firebrand leader of the NUM, heroically leading strikes against the apartheid regime.

By 2012 he was a director of Lonmin, the British-based mining firm that ran the mine at Marikana, and the country's second richest black businessman.

Now he is South Africa's deputy president.

Jim told Socialist Worker, "The report spends an extraordinary amount of time exonerating Cyril Ramaphosa. The state colluded with big business and Lonmin to break the strike—and they get away scot free."

Lonmin officials worked with police to plan their response to the miners' strike in the run-up to the massacre. The firm also provided the cops with helicopters, CCTV, razor wire and other facilities.

But Jim said, "There is no criticism of this collusion. Rather the commissioners thought it was a good idea for the company to help the police."

Retired judge Ian Farlam presented the commission's report into the massacre and other deaths connected to the strike to the government three months ago. But South Africa's president Jacob Zuma refused to release it.

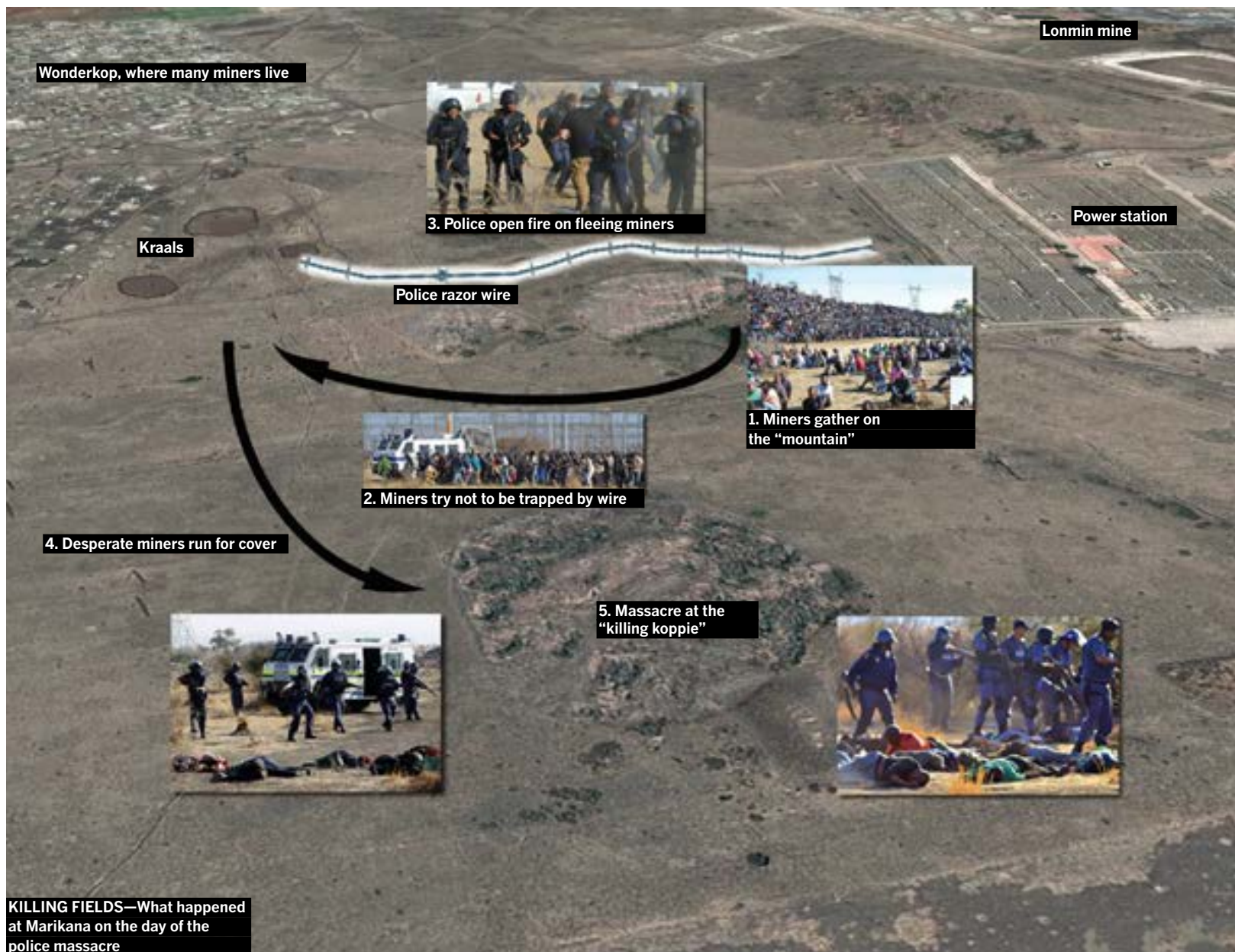
Finally he appeared on national TV on Thursday of last week when it was published.

The report details how people were shot. But it doesn't make clear who was responsible for the killings. And it spends a lot of time blaming strikers for the violence.

Jim said, "The report's first



**Police vehicles channelled miners towards officers with machine guns**



paragraph says the 'tragic' events 'originated' from the miners' decision to launch an unofficial strike. It says miners were 'enforcing the strike by violence and intimidation'.

"Six hundred pages later it concludes by condemning 'in the strongest term the violent manner in which the strike was sought to be enforced'."

### Condemn

In the pages in between, some 250 paragraphs condemn miners for their violence and say they brought the massacre on themselves.

Jim said, "Police vehicles channelled the miners towards 60 police officers carrying semi-automatic machine guns. A rollout of razor wire blocked their way out.

"Yet the report said police must have thought miners would attack them and so were justified in firing in self-defence."

Zuma focused on the fact that the report exonerated Cyril Ramaphosa when he unveiled it last week.

For many the cover-up is not surprising.

"The historical record of commissions looking into violence by states against their citizens has been very weak," said Rehad. "In the 1990s we had the Truth and Reconciliation Commission into apartheid.

"It recommended the prosecution

of 400 people. So far no one has been prosecuted."

Rehad said such commissions are "set up to absolve the state".

"It is set up to lay a little blame everywhere," he said. "But when it comes to responsibility it gets Orwellian. It claims it can't find sufficient evidence to talk of government involvement in the killings."

For Zuma, although the police shouldn't have acted as they did, the killings were simply a tragic accident. Yet the evidence points to a plan to attack miners.

Zuma changed the terms of reference for the commission last year. It lost the right to investigate government departments. Rehad explained that national police commissioner Riah Phiyega spoke to the local police chief in Marikana three times on the phone on the day

of the massacre. But the change in the terms of reference meant that "the commission couldn't demand transcripts to know what was said".

Lonmin's transcript of a meeting with Phiyega shows the real fear that the miners' struggle was generating at the top of society. They discussed their fear at the NUM losing membership and their fear of "contagion" as the new radicalism spread.

This is what bosses, and the state, were keen to smash.

Police had ordered four mortuary wagons—able

to accommodate 16 bodies—and 4,000 rounds of machine gun bullets in the run-up to the massacre. The report could not explain why.

Instead it says police should have had better first aid training.

And it keeps its focus on the miners' "violence".

Jim said, "The report said miners had dangerous weapons such as sticks and spears. But the commission heard that this was because they had been attacked.

"Lonmin security attacked them. The NUM union shot two miners in the back. And an unprovoked attack by police left three miners dead."

Jim said the commission should have reached the obvious conclusion—that miners lived in fear of their lives from further attack.

The report's recommendations in terms of the police are "mild" according to Rehad.

"It says there should be further investigations of officers involved," he

explained. "But it doesn't even call for them to be suspended while they are investigated. It doesn't call for Phiyega's immediate resignation, only another inquiry."

But for activists on the ground, this report is not the end of the story. And it won't ease South Africa's crisis.

### Shaken

In the three years the commission examined its evidence, South African society has been shaken to the core.

A wave of unofficial strikes broke the unquestioned alliance of the ANC, which led the struggle against apartheid, with the Cosatu union federation and South African Communist Party.

Miners and their supporters are determined to keep fighting for truth and justice.

Julius Malema, head of a new radical party the Economic Freedom Fighters, said Cyril Ramaphosa must be prosecuted. "We will ensure that he is brought to book because he was at the centre of massacring our people," he said.

Rehad said, "On 19 August activists will hold a day of action over Marikana. The families plan civil action against figures such as Ramaphosa. We plan to launch a public inquiry led by civil society.

"Marikana is a deep wound in South Africa's democracy."



**When it comes to saying who is responsible, the report is Orwellian**

MINERS ON the mountain the day before the massacre

## How we first uncovered the truth about killings

Socialist Worker broke the real story of the massacre in August 2012. At the time, most newspapers accepted the police story that they had fired at miners in self defence.



Socialist Worker said, "The slaughter was not a tragic error of judgement. It was deliberate. The state forces were not protecting themselves from armed workers. They were executing a premeditated plan."

The commission's report, for all its failings, confirms that story.

The shocking footage of the massacre shown on TV news only showed the first killings. It didn't show police chasing fleeing miners in helicopters, armoured cars and on foot and gunning them down as they fled.

The commission discovered that police had altered their notes to make the attack appear to be unplanned.

The typed up reports they submitted did not refer to a big confrontation.

Yet a year into the investigation police were forced to reveal handwritten notes from the morning briefing, headed "D-Day".

Peter Alexander and his research team investigated the truth behind the massacre and

Socialist Worker printed the findings. This began the shift towards the true story being accepted.

Just days before the massacre strikers marched on the local NUM union offices to complain about its lack of support for their struggle.

Some of the commission's most shocking material comes from the NUM, which now accepts that its members fired on strikers.

People from the NUM office approached one of the two miners who were shot in the back. The commission heard evidence that, "One of the persons said 'Let's finish him off' and used the handle of a spear and struck him with it until it broke."

The commission also saw evidence about telephone calls between Lonmin boss Cyril Ramaphosa and police minister Nathi Mthethwa.

Its report decided that this did not show any attempt to exert political influence. It said, "The call from Mr Ramaphosa to the minister did not influence her decision-making in respect of Marikana."

"She testified that any citizen is entitled to phone the police for assistance."

Read our original coverage online. The truth behind the massacre—bit.ly/1Hw977

### FIND OUT MORE

● **Marikana: A View From the Mountain and a Case to Answer**

Book (£6) by Peter Alexander, Thapelo Lekgowa, Botsang Mmope, Luke Sinwell and Bongani Xezwi

● **Miners Shot Down** DVD (£9.99), directed by Rehad Desai

Available at Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop.

Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to [bookmarksbookshop.co.uk](http://bookmarksbookshop.co.uk)





## WHAT WE STAND FOR

These are the core politics of the Socialist Workers Party.

### INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Under capitalism workers' labour creates all profit. A socialist society can only be constructed when the working class seizes control of the means of production and democratically plans how they are used.

### REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be patched up or reformed as the established Labour and trade union leaders say.

It has to be overthrown. Capitalism systematically degrades the natural world. Ending environmental crisis means creating a new society.

### THERE IS NO PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

The structures of the present parliament, army, police and judiciary cannot be taken over and used by the working class. They grew up under capitalism and are designed to protect the ruling class against the workers.

The working class needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state based upon councils of workers' delegates and a workers' militia.

At most parliamentary activity can be used to make propaganda against the present system.

Only the mass action of the workers themselves can destroy the system.

### INTERNATIONALISM

The struggle for socialism is part of a worldwide struggle. We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries.

We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against those from other countries.

We oppose racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls.

We support the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise their own defence. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation in one country.

In Russia the result was state capitalism, not socialism. In Eastern Europe and China a similar system was later established by Stalinist parties. We support the struggle of workers in these countries against both private and state capitalism.

We are for real social, economic and political equality of women. We are for an end to all forms of discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

We defend the right of believers to practise their religion without state interference.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party.

Such a party can only be built by activity in the mass organisations of the working class.

We have to prove in practice to other workers that reformist leaders and reformist ideas are opposed to their own interests. We have to build a rank and file movement within the unions.

To join us, turn to page 16 or go to [www.swp.org.uk](http://www.swp.org.uk) or phone 020 7819 1170 for more information

## { SOCIALIST WORKER } BRANCH MEETINGS

Weekly meetings to discuss political issues and our local interventions. All welcome.

### BOLTON

**Syriza and Greece—rich vs poor. Where are the European economies heading?**

Wed 8 Jul, 6.30pm,  
Bolton Socialist Club,  
16 Wood St (off  
Bradshawgate),  
BL1 1DY

### BRADFORD

**In or out? What should socialists say about the EU referendum?**

Wed 8 Jul, 7pm,  
Equity Centre,  
Perkin House,  
82 Grattan Rd,  
BD1 2LU

### BRISTOL: SOUTH

**The politics of riots**

Wed 8 Jul, 7.30pm,  
YHA,  
14 Narrow Quay,  
BS1 4QA

### CARDIFF

**Why is Marxism still relevant?**

Wed 15 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Cathays Community Centre,  
Cathays Terrace,  
CF24 4HX

### CHELMSFORD

**Pride, politics and protest—a revolutionary guide to LGBT liberation**

Thu 16 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Friends Meeting House,  
Rainsford Rd,  
CM1 2QL

### CHESTERFIELD

**Why is Marxism relevant today?**

Thu 16 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Chesterfield Library (please  
enter via Cafe Browser),  
New Beetwell St,  
S40 1QL

### COVENTRY

**Do we need system change to stop climate change?**

Wed 8 July, 7.30pm,  
West Indian Centre,  
159 Spon St,  
CV1 3BB

### DONCASTER

**Hungry for justice—the fast food workers' rights movement**

Wed 8 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Women's Centre,  
21 Cleveland St, DN1 3EH

### DUDLEY

**Is the Labour Party leadership election relevant?**

Wed 8 Jul, 8pm,

# CAN JEREMY CORBYN RECLAIM LABOUR?

### BARNSELY

Thu 16 Jul, 6.30pm,  
YMCA,  
Blucher St, S70 1AP

### LEICESTER

Wed 15 Jul, 7pm,  
Leicester Adult  
Education College,  
2 Wellington St, (Belvoir  
St entrance), LE1 6HL

### LONDON: LEWISHAM

Wed 8 Jul, 7.30pm,  
West Greenwich Community  
and Arts Centre,  
141 Greenwich High Rd  
(near Greenwich main  
line and DLR Station),  
SE10 8JA

### NOTTINGHAM

Wed 8 Jul, 7.30pm,  
International  
Community Centre,  
61b Mansfield Rd,  
NG1 3FN

### OXFORD

Wed 15 July, 7.30pm,  
Restore, Manzil Way  
(off Cowley Rd),  
Oxford,  
OX4 1YH

The What Centre,  
23 Coventry St,  
Stourbridge (Town Centre),  
Dudley  
DY8 1EP

### DUNDEE

**The revolutionary paper—why we sell Socialist Worker**

Wed 15 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Dundee Voluntary Action,  
10 Constitution Rd,  
Dundee  
DD1 1LL

### HARLOW

**Greece—the battle against the bankers**

Thu 23 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Friends Meeting House,  
1 Church Leys,  
CM18 6BX

### HUDDERSFIELD

**Street movements, strikes and the fight against the Tories**

Wed 8 Jul, 6.30pm,  
Brian Jackson House, 2 New  
North Parade (near both  
train and bus stations),  
HD1 5JP

### KIRKCALDY

**The new liberalism in Scotland**

Mon 6 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Betty Nicol's Pub,  
297 High St,  
KY1 1JL

### LANCASTER

**What do we mean by revolution?**

Thu 16 Jul, 7pm,  
Friends Meeting House  
Meeting House Lane,  
Lancaster,  
LA1 1TX

### LEEDS: CITY CENTRE

**The housing crisis—where are we going to live?**

Thu 16 Jul, 7pm,

The Swarthmore  
Education Centre,  
2-7 Woodhouse Square,  
LS3 1AD

### LONDON: BRENT & HARROW

**In or out? What should socialists say about the EU referendum?**

Thu 16 Jul, 7.30pm,  
The Pepperpot Centre,  
1a Thorpe Close,  
Ladbroke Grove (very  
close to the station),  
W10 5XL

### LONDON: BRIXTON

**In or out? What should socialists say about the EU referendum?**

Wed 8 Jul, 7pm,  
Vida Walsh Centre,  
2b Saltoun Rd,  
(near Effra Rd, facing  
Windrush Square),  
SW2 1EP

### LONDON: EALING

**Israel—the state built for murder**

Wed 8 Jul, 7.30pm,  
W3 Gallery,  
185 High St,  
Acton  
W3 9DJ

### LONDON: HACKNEY

**In or out? What should socialists say about the EU referendum?**

Thu 16 Jul, 7.30pm,  
The Round Chapel,  
2 Powerscroft Rd (corner  
Lower Clapton Rd),  
E5 0PU

### LONDON: HORNSEY AND WOOD GREEN

**Why Marx still matters**

Wed 8 Jul, 7.30pm,  
West Indian Cultural  
Centre, 9 Clarendon Rd,  
Haringey,  
N8 0DD

### LONDON: KINGSTON

**Greece—the battle against the bankers**

Wed 15 Jul, 7pm,  
Kingston Quaker Centre,  
Fairfield East,  
KT1 2PT

### LONDON: NEWHAM

**Venezuela after Chavez**

Wed 8 Jul, 7pm,  
Stratford Advice Arcade,  
107-109 The Grove (next to  
Morrisons car park), E15 1HP

### MANCHESTER LONGSIGHT AND LEVENSHULME

**Against utilitarianism: fighting for real education**

Wed 8 July, 7.30pm,  
Food Factory,  
884 Stockport Rd,  
M19 3BN

### MEDWAY

**In or out? What should socialists say about the EU referendum?**

Thu 16 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Conference room,  
The Nucleus Arts Centre,  
272 High St, Chatham,  
ME4 4BP

### NORWICH

**Capitalism in crisis—was Marx right?**

Thu 16 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Vauxhall Centre,  
Johnson Place,  
NR2 2SA

### NOTTINGHAM

**Is the Labour Party finished?**

Wed 8 Jul, 7.30pm,  
International  
Community Centre,  
61b Mansfield Rd,  
NG1 3FN

### SHEFFIELD: CITY CENTRE

**Why the system can't provide decent homes for all**

Thu 16 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Central United  
Reformed Church,  
60 Norfolk St (near the  
Crucible theatre),  
S1 2JB

### YORK

**How do ideas change?**

Wed 8 Jul, 7.30pm,  
Sea Horse Hotel,  
4 Fawcett St,  
YO10 4AH

## { MOVEMENT EVENTS }

### DORSET

**Greece—the end of the line for the EU?**

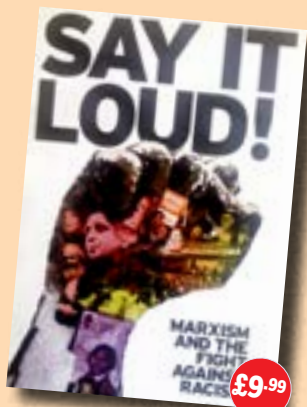
Sat 1 Aug, 1.30pm,  
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Organised by Dorset Socialists

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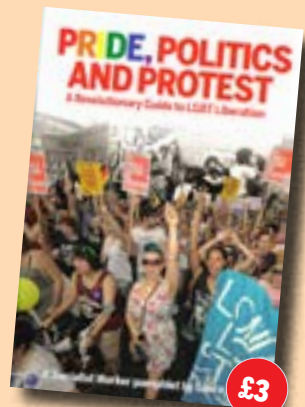
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**1984, the Miners and the Strike that could have Won**  
by Ian Taylor



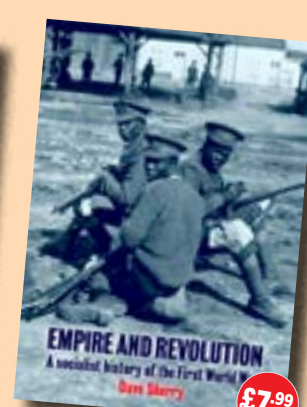
**Say it Loud! Marxism and the fight against racism**  
edited by Brian Richardson



**Pride, politics and protest**  
by Laura Miles



**Ukip—the ugly face of politics**  
A Socialist Worker pamphlet



**Empire and revolution**  
by Dave Sherry

Visit Bookmarks at Marxism 2015 ● [marxismfestival.org.uk](http://marxismfestival.org.uk)



# Disjointed drama about life at work leaves out the cuts

Not Safe for Work tries too hard to be funny and pushes an interesting plot to the background—but there's potential for it to develop, says **Kris Hedges**

**CHANNEL 4's new drama Not Safe for Work tries to make a point about working life in Britain today—but doesn't quite pull it off.**

It's set against the backdrop of "restructuring"—read cuts—in a civil service department.

Having just finalised her divorce the night before, Katherine (Zawe Ashton) finds out that she's being immediately posted to Northampton.

Katherine protests that it's only people who are "bad at their jobs" that are sent there.

But the HR head just retorts that it's "cost effective", using all the classic management speak that we're confronted with in the workplace.

Northampton is a disaster. Her new boss Danny (Sacha Dhawan) is a drug addict who she used to manage. The "Immigration Pathway" agency is being run into the ground.

Danny parties all night and plays video games in the office. Recommendations he's signed off on include giving migrants camping equipment—very British—to help integration.

## Immigration

We're told that Katherine wrote the original proposal for the Immigration Pathway, because different departments don't communicate leaving migrants to fall through the cracks.

But the government didn't take any of her recommendations seriously and is trying to find any excuse to shut it down.

However, apart from a backdrop that's sometimes alluded to, the show doesn't really touch on austerity.

Its main focus is on the different characters' personal lives. Anthony, who Katherine had an affair with now also works in the same office.

The HR head's job is also "relocated" and because of an administrative error they end up sharing the same accommodation.

They're supposed to do a presentation for the minister, but Danny hasn't done any work for it. Katherine sets about trying to save her project.

The main problem with Not Safe for Work is that it's not sure whether it's a comedy or a drama.

It's possible to have good comedy drama, but it just wasn't that funny.

Like a lot of shows, it uses sexist language. But it just feels disjointed from the rest of the dialogue and plot as if it was added in to shock us.

That said, it becomes more serious in the second episode and could turn into a funny and serious show.

**Not Safe for Work**  
Channel 4  
Tuesdays, 10pm

## Photography



**THIS EXHIBITION explores the influence of early scientific photography on modern and contemporary art, including Blow Up, Untitled 1, 2007 by Uri Gersht (above). On display are the earliest recorded images of the moon and 19th century photographs capturing electrical discharges.**

BLOW UP: UNTITLED 1, 2007, ORI GERSHT © ORI GERSHT, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Revelations—Experiments in Photography. Science Museum, London SW7 2DD. Until 13 September. After the exhibition's run in London it will go on show at the National Media Museum in Bradford from 19 November 2015 until 7 February 2016

## EVENT

### THE FOUR FRIDAS

The Greenwich and Docklands International Festival  
1-4 July 2015

Tickets £15, concessions £12  
Royal Artillery Barracks,  
London SE18.  
[festival.org/whatson](http://festival.org/whatson)

THE FOUR Fridas is an outdoor theatre production celebrating the life and work of the legendary Mexican socialist and artist Frida Kahlo.

It integrates music,

Frida Kahlo

narration and dance set against projections in the sky.

## FILM

### AMY

Directed by Asif Kapadia  
Altitude Film Distribution  
Out on 3 July

THIS NEW film on soul singer Amy Winehouse pulls together unseen archive footage and unheard tracks

Amy Winehouse

to piece together the story of Amy's life and career.

### MAGICIAN: THE ASTONISHING LIFE & WORK OF ORSON WELLES

Directed by Chuck Workman  
British Film Institute  
[bfi.org.uk](http://bfi.org.uk) #AwesomeWelles

THIS FILM is part of a season of events and will be screened across Britain.

Many will know Welles for playing the character Harry Lime in the brilliant The Third Man.

He was part of the radical pop culture in the US, which grew in response to the horrors of the 1930s.

Check out the BFI website for details.



**T**HE ROWS over migration are based on a series of stereotypes about people who come to Britain and their descendants.

We're constantly told that migrants and particularly Muslims choose to "self-segregate".

Racists and fascists from Enoch Powell through the National Front to the British National Party, English Defence League and Ukip have pushed these myths.

Mainstream politicians echo them too.

But a new book, *Ethnic Identity and Inequalities in Britain*, demolishes the argument. It bluntly states, "Increased ethnic diversity has not been accompanied by greater segregation in neighbourhoods."

This is just a starting point. The book uses information from the 2011 census to celebrate Britain's diversity and give a riposte to the racists.

Co-editor Stephen Jivraj told *Socialist Worker*, "Ethnic minority groups are still very clustered.

"Now there are more places where you see a lot of non-white faces and people assume that means there is an increase in segregation, but the data doesn't show that."

### Migrants

It's true that many migrant groups live close together, but this is partly because they tend to live in poorer areas.

Many councils in the 1950s and 60s also kept black people out of council housing and later segregated it.

Bosses have put people from different backgrounds on different shifts to try and set them against each other.

New migrants often live with other people from a similar background, partly for mutual support. Both racism and the struggle against it have shaped the map of Britain's inner cities.

Yet prejudice still undermines serious analysis of why people live where they do.

David Cameron chose the first day of Ramadan to claim that many British Muslims "quietly condone" extremism.

Meanwhile the right wing press has worked itself into a frenzy about migrants camped at the French port of Calais.

Muslims being painted as an alien force is now commonplace even in liberal newspapers such as the *Guardian*. Last week it ran a feature on Bradford which stated Muslims "have little to no interaction with British life."

Its evidence was that "pockets of Bradford have become ever more monoethnic. Little Horton...is 57 percent British Asian, overwhelmingly of Pakistani origin, compared with just under 20 percent in Bradford as a whole."

Stephen said, "It's not that



# IS BRITAIN BECOMING DIVIDED?

Politicians argue that multiculturalism has meant migrants are 'self-segregating'. Author Stephen Jivraj spoke to *Socialist Worker* about a new book demolishing that claim



Stephen Jivraj

people from minorities went to live in the Lake District then said, 'I don't like this, I'm heading back to an ethnic enclave'."

Populations in such areas tend to be young, "so they have largely increased because of people having children."

This is mostly accompanied by a slow drift out to the suburbs. But this is slower than in the wider population, "because of the disadvantages that minorities face."

That doesn't mean that



**Class divides ethnic minorities and the poor suffer like always**

everyone mixes in harmony, but areas like this are less "monoethnic" than majority white areas.

Instead we see a growth in "plural" cities—local authorities where "more than 50 percent of its population that are not from one ethnic group".

These are very diverse. In very few of these areas does one group dominate.

The facts don't back up politicians' claims about immigration causing social problems.

Class divides ethnic minority

groups and the poor suffer—and it's only made worse by racism. Migrants are often blamed for the bad housing and low wages that they have.

Stephen said, "Ethnic inequality has fallen off the radar. The differences are still there but policy makers don't talk about them anymore."

Ethnic minorities and particularly those of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin are among the poorest in Britain.

The book notes that this often continues despite the fact that ethnic minority children have more qualifications than their white contemporaries.

A person with a "foreign" looking name has to send twice as many job applications to get any response than those with otherwise identical forms.

Women from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds are still the least likely to be working. But they had "the highest rise" from 17 to 40 percent in participation in the workplace between 1991 and 2011.

**T**HE REAL problem with where people live is not segregation, but that housing is becoming more insecure.

Stephen said, "Some of the more long established groups were able to buy houses when they arrived, but that's just not the case today because the increase in house prices over the past 30 years has been astronomical.

"There is also much less social housing and access is more difficult now for everybody.

"The Pakistani group has a high proportion of people who bought their own homes 30 or 40 year ago. They tend to live in more deprived parts of the country. For example places like Rochdale, Oldham or Burnley.

The housing they bought tended to be run down stock.

Stephen said, "Many of those groups are stuck. Newer arrivals are also stuck in insecure private rentals. Housing policy shifts have affected everyone, but hurt migrants most."

In the 1980s the Lib Dem-run Tower Hamlets council ran a "Sons and Daughters" housing policy.

It didn't affect much who was housed as there was hardly any new social housing. But it divided white against Bangladeshi in fighting for those existing resources rather than demanding more.

Britain remains a deeply racist society. Whipping up racism against migrants tries to shift people from seeing racism as a problem to seeing a problem created by migrants.

The book is in part a follow up to *Sleepwalking to Segregation?*: Challenging Myths About Race and Migration which used data from the 2001 census.

It's sad that it has to take on many of the same myths.

DAVID CAMERON claiming that Muslims "quietly condone" extremism

## Ethnic identities aren't static but shaped by social change

**E**THNIC IDENTITIES have evolved. The biggest shift is in different groups coming to share spaces.

Stephen said, "Living in diverse areas has meant minority groups have borrowed from one another and the majority culture to form new identities."

There is also an interaction between social change and the establishment's perception of identity.

So "Mixed" and "White Irish" were added to the census in 2001.

And the divisions are not simply along lines of colour or religion.

### Greatest

The groups of migrants who have suffered the greatest disadvantage have tended to be the Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities. Yet the "White Gypsy or Irish Traveller" group is the most disadvantaged in terms of health.

Stephen said, "How disadvantaged they are is quite stark."

One in eight households now has "people from different ethnic groups living together".

Far from people keeping apart from other groups, there has been a

significant increase in mixed relationships.

Muslims are not excluded from this process.

The book notes that even on the census where people can define their identity, "More than half of Muslims describe themselves as British only."

### Affiliation

"This sole affiliation to Britishness is higher than any other religious group, except Sikhs."

Stephen said that all groups, apart from "White Irish" and "White Other", mainly identify as British. He said, "No one seems to worry about these if they are white South Africans or white Americans, but they worry about British Muslims.

"Diverse groups are growing fastest and such people find it hard to identify with one group," Stephen said.

"If you're of Turkish descent you might sometimes think you're Asian.

"But another time you might say Other White."

As Britain becomes more diverse people can feel they belong to more than one ethnic identity.

And that means they don't know what to put on a form.



'Gypsy and White Traveller' were added to the census in 2011 (top) The Traveller flag (bottom)

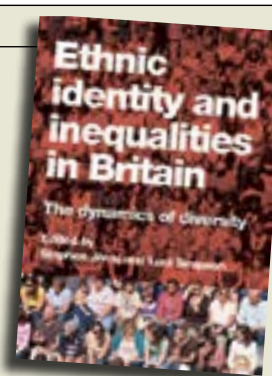
### READ MORE

● **Ethnic Identity and Inequalities in Britain—The Dynamics of Diversity**  
Edited by Stephen Jivraj and Ludi Simpson  
Policy Press £19.99

● **Sleepwalking to Segregation?: Challenging Myths About Race and Migration**  
by Nissa Finney and Ludi

Simpson  
Policy Press £15.99

Available at Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop. Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to [bookmarksbookshop.co.uk](http://bookmarksbookshop.co.uk)



## Assault from media bosses needs a clear response

To resist the bosses' cuts and attacks on their union media workers need a national fightback, argues Phil Turner

WE'RE ONLY weeks into a new Tory government and predictably local newspaper bosses have been attacking journalists' jobs. The industry has never been slow in making staff pay the price to maximise profits.

Newsquest Media Group, one of the big four regional newspaper firms, plans a new restructure that would see jobs cut across a range of papers in south London.

A letter to Newsquest bosses from London Assembly members warned that their cuts to newsrooms would have far-reaching consequences.

It said, "We need local papers of a reasonable quality to ensure democratic scrutiny, accountability and encourage an informed and active citizenship."

In Croydon in south London, with a population of 342,000, only one reporter would be left.

This is a familiar story to those working in big groups like Johnstone Press and Trinity Mirror.

Johnstone Press slashed thousands of jobs as workers paid the price for the company's spending spree in the 1990s to rapidly expand in Britain and Ireland.

### Axe

The firm owes hundreds of millions to the banks, and journalists in Yorkshire are among the latest to feel the axe.

Newsrooms have been merged in an experiment called the Newsroom of the Future, a real piece of Orwellian Newspeak.

This tries to paper over the cracks of dwindling staff by having one team doing lots of video to entice readers onto websites to make money from online advertising.

Teams of community news "curators" deal with "user-generated content"—in other



NEWSQUEST STAFF on strike against job cuts

### BACK STORY

**Media bosses have again launched an assault on their workforce**

- The biggest firms want to restructure and cut jobs
- This threatens standards and quality by moving to new methods designed to boost advertising revenues
- The Tories are set to make new attacks on the BBC
- Cuts have an impact on workers' morale but national action could raise the confidence to fight back

words, the readers filling space for free.

Trinity Mirror, which owns regional titles as well as the *Daily* and *Sunday Mirror*, has just doubled cuts to £20 million—blaming poor print revenues—putting more jobs at risk.

The firm had already announced cuts at the Birmingham Post and Mail.

Wages are terrible, a legacy of years of derecognition of the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) following



**Workers are crying out for a fightback by their union against the cuts**

attacks by the likes of Rupert Murdoch in the 1980s.

At Newsquest many staff working in the capital do not earn the London Living Wage.

All this is crying out for a fightback by the union, which will also have to defend the BBC from fresh attacks by the Tories.

There have been good initiatives such as the Local News Matters campaign and a national summit earlier this year for reps in the sector.

But if we are to defend jobs and conditions more needs to happen quickly, including coordinated industrial action.

This will be most effective if it can unite NUJ members in the big firms.

NUJ should call a national demo to defend local news, the BBC and in solidarity with Newsquest workers.

The victory over the threat to make me redundant at Rotherham Advertiser shows a way forward.

South Yorkshire NUJ mounted a huge solidarity campaign, using social media and mass letters of complaint to management.

A demonstration of 250, ahead of a planned one-day strike, built up pressure and meant bosses backed down.

It was a clear attack on the union.

Of course there are problems—constant cuts have their effect on members' morale and undermine workplace organisation.

But a determined campaign to oppose further cuts, bringing together leadership and the grassroots, could get members' heads up again.



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# Which side are EU on?

Socialist Worker has argued for a vote against staying in the European Union in the coming referendum, but not everyone agrees. Readers give their views on how the left should vote

## VOTE YES

### We can't be seen to line up with the Ukip racists

**W**HEN I saw letters from other socialists who wish to vote yes, I was glad I wasn't the only one.

They understand that the EU is a bosses' club, but have the insight to see the potential to use their vote to reject right wing ideology. As far back as the last



Rotten racist Nigel Farage

referendum in 1975 it embarrassed me to see left wingers such as Tony Benn sharing platforms with the vile Enoch Powell against the Common Market.

I certainly will not be sharing any platform with Ukip or the Tory right.

**John Appleyard**

Liversedge, West Yorkshire

●I WAS a bit taken aback to find the SWP arguing for a no vote.

I understand that the EU is a bosses' club and that weakening it will ultimately benefit workers across all countries.

But this is going to be a difficult argument to have

in the current climate of anti-EU and anti-migrant racism.

I can imagine the reaction of my husband's Polish co-workers. They will think we are on the same side as Ukip and this will be a very sore point.

They will think we do not want them here.

If the no campaign wins, what would happen to European workers in Britain? Would they be deported straight away?

Many workers in my workplace also think we are better off in the EU because they see it as more for worker rights and human rights than

the Tories. The reasons for voting no may be right in the long run. But in the short run it could make migrant workers see us as being against them.

**Gurjit Minhas**  
Leicester

●AT THE general election the Scottish National Party (SNP) had three main policy positions—no to austerity, no to Trident nuclear missiles, and yes to the EU.

And all the opinion polls show the majority of Greeks still wish to remain in the EU. This is food for thought.

**Terry Ward**  
Wickford, Essex

## VOTE NO

### We must tell the truth about Fortress Europe

**W**E SHOULD not fool ourselves that the EU represents the right to free movement. It offers only repression to desperate refugees fleeing war and poverty.

EU borders agency Frontex is getting new powers to detain and expel migrants.

Hungary is building a wall at its border with Serbia to keep migrants out. Greece has already done this at its border with Turkey.

Working with Frontex, Greek coastal patrols push migrant boats back to Turkey. Many drown. Survivors face detention in horrific camps.

Now borders within the EU are getting tighter. Few refugees who reach Greece and Italy will be allowed to move north.

These moves will be used to make life even more difficult for eastern European migrants, particularly Roma people.

**Despina Karayianni**  
East London

●IT'S TRUE that some regulations brought in by the EU have helped workers. But defending them doesn't depend on an institution.

It's a question of the strength of ordinary people's fight for them. The real test of the EU must surely be its vicious immigration laws.

An institution of great wealth is turning its back



Refugees protest in Calais

PICTURE: SOCIALIST WORKER

on the poor—to uphold profit and racist notions of national identity.

This tragic situation exposes the EU's claims to internationalism and support for human rights as a shabby pretence.

Socialists fight for a world free from racism.

That's an aim the EU certainly doesn't support.

**Margaret Woods**  
Glasgow

●THE EU is a trading block designed to give the states of Europe an advantage over other countries. Socialists have to take a stand on this.

It isn't in workers' interest to support exploitation in poorer countries. This argument is not abstract for workers in Africa, Asia and South America.

If they see socialists fighting alongside bosses to uphold the EU it will undermine the case for socialism. We must fight against it, for unity with workers across the world.

**Phil Allsop**  
North London

## VOTE NO

### Bosses use their EU to squeeze workers

**W**E CAN only answer hard questions by going back to our principles. Socialists fight for what is in the real interest of the working class—not just for what is popular.

We can't dilute that principle just because others to the right of us also oppose the EU.

By calling on workers to support the European bosses, union leaders tie our hands in any fight against them.

**Roger Cox**  
North West London

●IN 1975 I got chased off by the police while painting "No to Bosses' Europe" on a bridge. I never got to finish, so for years it said "No to Bosses".

We opposed the



German leaders Angela Merkel and Martin Schauble

attempts to rationalise capitalism at workers' expense. This is still the driving force of the EU, as we see in Greece.

The Common Market first imposed VAT, which taxes the poor more than the rich. Now the EU wants to force the Greek government to increase it further.

We can oppose the chauvinists in the no campaign with these class-based arguments.

**Jeannie Robinson**  
Chesterfield

●A YES vote will only help the European bourgeoisie. Socialists must not give up the working class's right to defend itself from exploitation.

**Ali Fayed**  
By email

## ABSTAIN

### Both sides are so toxic it's a no-win scenario

**M**ANY socialists will want to vote yes to the EU because the no side will be dominated by Ukip's anti-migrant racism and the most xenophobic of Tories.

But the yes campaign will be dominated by David Cameron and the Blairites who will argue that the EU is good for business and British capitalism.

In such circumstances, should we call for "neither racism nor EU capitalism but international socialism"—and not call for a vote either way?

**Tony Barnsley**  
Dudley

●THE EU is no friend of workers. But would an "independent" British state be any better? There's little reason to think leaving the EU would make any difference to workers.

The 2015 general election was one of the



David Cameron at the EU

most racist in recent memory, and Nigel Farage is the media's favourite Eurosceptic spokesperson. To join any no campaign would give credibility to Ukip's lies and the far right racists that surround them.

We should stay out of this melee of an in/out referendum. The argument against the EU is a drop in the ocean in the battle for equality.

Socialists should rise above getting sucked into a lose-lose situation.

**James Edward**  
South East London

## JOIN THE DEBATE

Read the arguments so far

- What we think: Referendum can't be left to the racists [bit.ly/1IAw3tm](http://bit.ly/1IAw3tm)
- Feature: No to a bosses' Europe [bit.ly/1GsVsF8](http://bit.ly/1GsVsF8)
- Letters: Opposing bosses' EU would mean siding with racists [bit.ly/1KeAn7t](http://bit.ly/1KeAn7t)
- Letters: [bit.ly/1BOCjvk](http://bit.ly/1BOCjvk)

- Letters: Workers should say no to bosses' EU club [bit.ly/1fEO7vG](http://bit.ly/1fEO7vG)
- Feature: Smash Fortress Europe [bit.ly/1BOBRM](http://bit.ly/1BOBRM)
- Five questions about the EU [bit.ly/1LExSZC](http://bit.ly/1LExSZC)

Have your say—write to [letters@socialistworker.co.uk](mailto:letters@socialistworker.co.uk) with your ideas



## IN BRIEF

**Luton opposes Britain First demo**

A UNITED mobilisation of anti-fascists, trade unionists and representatives from several Luton mosques confronted Britain First in Luton last Saturday. It was organised by Unite Against Fascism (UAF).

Veterans Against Britain First also joined them.

About 100 joined the protest. People in Luton have lost patience with the cops facilitating marches of organised racists and fascists. **Dave Barnes**

**Nazi arrested over Antisemitic protest**

NAZI JOSHUA Bonehill was arrested for inciting racial hatred last week ahead of an Antisemitic demonstration planned in the Golders Green area of north London on Saturday of this week.

UAF plans a counter mobilisation. Thousands have signed a petition slamming the Nazis' plans to protest.

●See [uaf.org.uk](http://uaf.org.uk) for more info

**Lawyers to strike against Gove's cuts**

NEW TORY justice minister Michael Gove is facing a crisis as lawyers plan to strike against severe cuts to legal aid.

Over 100 barristers and solicitors met in Liverpool last week to decide to stop accepting legal aid work when new pay rates come into force on Wednesday of this week.

Since then other legal firms in England and Wales have followed suit and the action could affect up to 9,000 lawyers. Courts could grind to a halt if a national strike goes ahead.

**Housing protests hit Manchester**

HOUSING CAMPAIGNERS in Manchester protested outside the Chartered Institute of Housing conference on Thursday of last week where Tory housing minister Brandon Lewis addressed housing association bosses.

A rally also took place outside the city court on Monday of this week. The council was seeking injunctions to remove a camp of homelessness protesters in the city's St Ann's Square and another camp in Castlefield.

**Strike vote on pay for Indesit drivers**

MORE THAN 200 drivers and warehouse staff are being balloted for strikes at kitchen appliance manufacturer Indesit.

If they walk out it could disrupt thousands of deliveries across Britain.

The Unite union members are demanding better pay after years of below inflation deals. They are also fighting a cut to redundancy pay.

The ballot is set to close on Tuesday of next week.

## FIGHTING THE CUTS



**HIGHLANDS AGAINST** austerity—some 250 activists and trade unionists marched against the Tories in Inverness last Sunday. Another demo is set for Fort William on 8 August

## PRIVATISATION

# Gallery strikers plot to bury bosses' plan

by ANNETTE MACKIN

STRIKING NATIONAL Gallery workers sent a message to bosses last week, "We are not going away."

The workers were set to end their latest ten-day walkout on Thursday of this week, taking the total strike days this year up to 47.

An appeal hearing for sacked PCS union rep Candy Udwin was due to take place on Thursday—but bosses moved it to 22 July. One striker told Socialist Worker, "It's ridiculous they are messing us around like this—but we are not giving up. We are in good spirits and feel strong."

**Debate**

Labour MP John McDonnell arranged a debate in parliament last week on the privatisation of 400 out of 600 jobs at the gallery.

Tory culture minister Ed Vaizey showed his ignorance by stating that the gallery is the first major London museum to pay the London Living Wage—it was the last.



**Gallery strikers hand over collection to Glasgow striker**

McDonnell pressed Vaizey to agree in principle that bosses should return to Acas talks, but Vaizey would not agree. The stubbornness of the government and bosses has only fired up strikers.

"There was a really good turnout at parliament," a striker said, adding that the solid turnouts on picket lines were "a real boost".

Strikers held a picket line protest outside the gallery on Friday of last week. People queued to sign the petition demanding an end to the privatisation plans. They

were visited by two workers from the all-out Glasgow homelessness caseworkers strike (see page 19).

Last Saturday the gallery strikers marched on the trade union bloc at Pride.

In August Gabriele Finaldi is due to take over as the gallery's director. He has the power to stop the tendering process which began just before the general election.

Workers are planning the next stages to pile on the pressure and bury the privatisation plans.

●[ngnotforsale.wordpress.com](http://ngnotforsale.wordpress.com)

## MEDIA WORKERS

## Journalists at Newsquest suspend action over cuts

NEWSQUEST journalists in south London suspended their ten-day strike a day early "as a sign of goodwill" ahead of talks with bosses as Socialist Worker went to press.

NUJ union rep Andrew told Socialist Worker he was hopeful that a deal could be reached shortly.

He said, "The strike has had huge support politically and also from our union and other unions as well."

"Everyone has got

together and backed us".

The union is fighting a restructure that cuts jobs across a range of local newspapers.

It would also merge editorial departments that would force journalists in the south east to work remotely.

Strikers demand a 3 percent pay rise and changes to the restructure.

●Send messages of support to [campaigns@nuj.org.uk](mailto:campaigns@nuj.org.uk) and [brass19@hotmail.com](mailto:brass19@hotmail.com)

**Nick Clark**

## EDUCATION

## Resist every college cut

by SADIE ROBINSON

UCU UNION members at Bradford College struck on Tuesday of this week against compulsory redundancies.

UCU members at Barnsley College and Mid Cheshire College had planned to strike too, but the walkouts were suspended.

Talks had seen bosses

at Mid Cheshire say they will not issue any compulsory redundancy notices before September.

Bosses at Barnsley College had agreed to look at union proposals to improve job opportunities for staff

at risk of redundancy.

They announced 11 redundancies in May and have since said a further 25 jobs are at risk.

The attacks follow a government cut of 24 percent to the adult education budget affecting colleges across Britain.

Strikes and the threat of strikes has won guarantees of no compulsory redundancies at some colleges, but not all.

All cuts, compulsory or otherwise, damage education and make life harder for the workers who remain. Unions should fight them all.

## STAFFORD

STAFFORD College workers walked out in protest at 3pm on Friday of last week and called on their principal to resign. College bosses have threatened job cuts. Workers say there is a "culture of fear" at the college.

UCU union rep Marina

Bowler said the cuts were not simply linked to the government's recent cut to adult education funding.

"I think initially we were viewed as a small militant faction of lefties," she said. "But it is not the case, as proven by events today."

## HIGHER EDUCATION

WORKERS IN the Unison union at London Metropolitan University struck again on Thursday of last week against plans to slash jobs and impose up to 165 compulsory redundancies.

UCU union members, who

have previously struck against the plans, joined the picket lines. They challenged the vice chancellor, who agreed to look at union proposals that rule out compulsory redundancies.

●Send messages of support to [unison@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:unison@londonmet.ac.uk)

## SCHOOLS

## Support sacked teachers

NUT UNION members at George Monoux College were set to begin a two-day strike on Wednesday of this week in defence of two sacked teachers.

Strikers say bosses at the east London school wrongly sacked Flor Thompson and

Diana George last year—they plan to walk out every week until the summer break.

They want the school to reinstate the teachers or offer them a financial settlement.

●Send messages of support to [PJD@george-monoux.ac.uk](mailto:PJD@george-monoux.ac.uk)

## ACADEMIES

## Strong pickets force talks

THE NUT union suspended planned strikes for talks this week at two schools in Newham, east London.

NUT members at Rokeby and Sarah Bonnell schools had been set to walk out on Tuesday and Thursday against plans to turn the schools into academies.

Newham Teachers Association officer Miriam Scharf spoke to Socialist Worker in a personal capacity. She said, "The strikes have worried the employers. It seems the employers asked for talks because of the high level of picketing."

Workers could strike for three days from Tuesday of next week if the dispute is not resolved.

●Send messages of support to [georgefuller@rokeby.newham.sch.uk](mailto:georgefuller@rokeby.newham.sch.uk)



**Teachers against academies**

■NUT, NASUWT and ATL union members at Small Heath School in Birmingham were set to strike on Thursday of this week against plans to turn the school into an academy.

■ABOUT 150 teachers attended the NUT Supply Teachers Conference last Saturday.

●More at [socialistworker.co.uk](http://socialistworker.co.uk)

## SCOTTISH LEFT

## TUSC meets

AROUND 90 socialists, trade unionists and activists met last Saturday at the first Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition (TUSC) Scottish conference since the general election.

It focused on resisting austerity and building a united left to fight Westminster, Scottish government and local council cuts.

It unanimously supported seeking left unity talks. It was encouraging that Scottish Socialist Party, Solidarity, and People's Assembly members attended. The Scottish Left Project had no representative.

●Longer report online [socialistworker.co.uk](http://socialistworker.co.uk)



## HEALTH WORKERS

# Porters picket SNP health minister over pay dispute

by RAYMIE KIERNAN

**HOSPITAL PORTERS** on all-out strike in Dundee won significant concessions from NHS Tayside bosses last week.

But they believe the Scottish National Party (SNP) is blocking a final deal to end the dispute.

The strikers set up a picket at SNP health minister and local MSP Shona Robison's office.

Striker and Unite union rep Ronnie Heeney told Socialist Worker, "We feel that NHS Tayside is willing to make some sort of payment but their hands are tied by the government."

The porters demand to be paid equal to other NHS-employed porters in Scotland and receive back pay.

They have also fought for temporary staff to be given permanent contracts.

After 12 weeks on indefinite strike 14 temporary workers have won permanent contracts with all terms and conditions backdated to the first day they started. They had been officially paid off on 10 May.

## Meeting

At a meeting a majority of strikers agreed to send them back to work.

Some 120 porters have been on strike. Bosses have conceded they should be on the higher grade 2 pay band plus two pay increments.

Ronnie said they hadn't accepted that because they think bosses should offer more.

A major sticking point is back pay.



THE PICKET outside Shona Robison MSP's office

PICTURE: SUPPORT NINEWELLS

The porters' claim goes back to 2004 and they expect compensation.

Ronnie said, "Shona Robison told us there needed to be compromise. We have compromised enough, now it's time for them to do the same."

Strikers believe NHS bosses and SNP ministers are passing the buck. "One of them is lying," Ronnie said.

SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon said

just two weeks ago that the SNP was "the party of working people and the party of trade unionism in Scotland". Such claims are ringing hollow in Dundee.

As Socialist Worker went to press strikers were considering a new offer.

● Send the strikers a message of solidarity on Facebook at Support Ninewells Porters

## OXFORD

### Ballot over plans to change shift patterns

PORTERS WORKING at the John Radcliffe Hospital in Oxford are balloting for strikes—and solidarity is already pouring in.

The workers are members of the Unison union. They are fighting bosses' attempts to impose new shift patterns that would severely attack their pay and terms and conditions.

They were seconded to outsourcing giant Carillion under a private finance initiative (PFI) contract.

Bosses have also attacked the union and workers allege management bullying, with three union stewards suspended in the last few months.

But the union has nearly 100 percent density and workers have previously voted almost unanimously for action in consultative ballots.

The Keep Our NHS Public campaign and Glasgow homelessness caseworkers on indefinite strike, among many others, have pledged support.

The union is recommending a Yes vote. The ballot ends on 3 July.

● Go to the Facebook page Support JR Hospital Porters—Oxford. Send messages of solidarity to unison@ouh.nhs.uk

## CASEWORKERS



Striker at solidarity rally

PICTURE: DUNCAN BROWN

### Strikers join budget demo

GLASGOW homelessness caseworkers are supporting a call to protest on Wednesday of next week when the Tory emergency budget is announced.

The Unison union members have been on all-out strike for 14 weeks.

They are fighting to be regraded and paid equal to other council workers who have similar responsibilities but are paid up to £5,000 a year more.

Striker and Unison rep Chris told Socialist Worker, "It's a good day to focus on with the Tories putting through more draconian cuts. And this Labour council should be opposing them, not implementing them."

"Homeless people are suffering. It's a disgrace they haven't come back with an offer to end this dispute."

Chris said Scottish National Party (SNP) members had given the strike strong support. Glasgow MP Anne McLaughlin has visited their picket line.

"If all seven Glasgow MPs came out in our support it would help heap on the pressure, but that hasn't been forthcoming as yet," Chris said. ● See Glasgow Homeless Caseworkers Strike on Facebook

## TRANSPORT

### Tories face biggest Tube walkout in over a decade

TUBE WORKERS in the RMT union have voted by 91 percent to strike over pay and the introduction of Night Tube. TSSA members voted to strike by three to one. Unite had not announced its results as Socialist Worker went to press.

London Underground could now see its biggest walkout in over a decade. Train drivers in the Aslef union had already announced a strike for 8 July after a 97 percent vote.

Aslef's walkout is set to take place from 9.30pm on the day of the Tories' emergency budget.

The other unions are likely to join them.

RMT said the attack

had "united all four tube unions in a campaign of resistance".

Bosses provoked fury by attempting to ram through new rosters for Night Tube operation, and a "crap" pay offer for this year.

The rosters could mean having to work an unlimited number of weekend and night shifts for no extra pay.

Talks at government conciliation service Acas were set to take place on Tuesday of this week.

Finn Brennan, Aslef's district organiser, said bosses "need to withdraw the threat to impose new rosters and make a realistic offer on pay and conditions."

"We are always prepared to talk."

## NATIONAL RAIL

### Rail workers accept deal

WORKERS AT Network Rail have accepted a new two-year deal on pay.

Over 80 percent of RMT union members and over 91 percent of TSSA union members voted to accept.

The deal means a 2 percent rise this year and a rise equal to the RPI rate of inflation in November 2015 for next year.

But the offer "must be offset through agreed efficiencies"—meaning cuts—and there were no guarantees on protecting jobs beyond the end of next year.

The threat of national strikes forced bosses to budge over pay.

But more could have been won if the threat was turned into action.

Raymie Kiernan

## CALMAC

### Strike stops ferry services

WORKERS AT the Scottish government-owned CalMac ferry company struck on Friday of last week, severely affecting Clyde and Hebrides ferry services.

The RMT union members are fighting threats to jobs, pensions and working conditions.

The TSSA union is set to begin a strike ballot on Friday of this week.

Workers fear CalMac could be handed to vulture firm Serco. The Scottish National Party (SNP) government is tendering for a bumper eight-year £1 billion contract.

The RMT appealed to the SNP to make the workers' demands a condition of the contract.

Workers want no compulsory redundancies, no changes to terms



Isle of Mull pickets

and conditions without agreement, and their pensions protected.

The party's trade union group said it "recognises" RMT members' right to strike and their concerns". But it too hid behind EU procurement laws rather than criticise the attack on workers.

## ENVIRONMENT

### Vote rejects fracking

COUNCILLORS IN Preston, Lancashire, voted against the return of fracking this week.

County council planning officers had recommended they allow gas firm Cuadrilla to frack a site near the village of Little Plumpton.

It would have been the first fracking operation in Britain since 2011 when a Cuadrilla rig near Blackpool—also in Lancashire—was found to be causing earthquakes.

The decision is a setback for the Tories' plan to roll out the dangerous method of shale gas extraction around Britain.

It's also a victory for the protesters who rallied outside Lancashire County Hall on Monday of this week and Tuesday of last week.

Dave Sewell



# OPPOSE TORY BUDGET CUTS

As the Tories prepare to unleash obscene levels of cuts to welfare spending Dave Sewell talks to a disabled activist about resisting the impact of their assault on disability benefits

**DISABLED** protesters were fighting to the bitter end as the government closed the Independent Living Fund (ILF) on Tuesday of this week.

Members of Disabled People Against Cuts (Dpac) protested outside Downing Street for the second time in a week as Socialist Worker went to press.

They got into parliament on Wednesday of last week, almost interrupting prime minister's questions.

Mick Harris, secretary of Norfolk Dpac, was one of them. He told Socialist Worker, "It's an indictment of the government's brutality that disabled people have no choice but to do this."

"The ILF helps the most severely disabled people. Without it people could be stuck sat in incontinency pads unable to leave the house."

"Once, disabled people were put away in big institutions. But they could become just as isolated without ILF—made prisoners in their homes."

Dpac campaigning and legal challenges managed to delay the closure of the fund for two years.

Mick said, "The government says council funding will have to make up for the ILF—but nothing has been



Protest at parliament last week

ringfenced, and councils are already making cuts to social care."

He explained, "We went into parliament for a lobby, to petition our MPs against the closure. But we were kept waiting for ages and felt like we'd been fobbed off. So we



**The Tories say councils will make up for ILF but they're cutting care**

decided to try and say hello to Dave Snooty and his pals in the debating chamber."

Millions were cheered as the direct action was broadcast on TV.

Mick said, "This protest went all over the world. People were surprised to see us there. And if we hadn't taken that action the media wouldn't have been interested."

He was shocked at the police violence. "People think the 'British bobbies' are wonderful, but the police brutality was bang out of order."

"They tried to pick people up by their wheelchairs and drag them away. One young female carer was dragged by the throat."

The Tories' onslaught is just beginning with next week's budget set to include £12 billion welfare cuts.

But even Tory axeman Iain Duncan Smith is nervous about where such a sum will come from.

Determined protests will only add to his worries.

Mick said, "There will be more resistance. Disabled people don't want to do this. We have enough hassle trying to overcome the adversities we face in our daily lives."

"But we are desperate and can't do anything else."



CAMPAIGNERS OUTSIDE Downing Street on Tuesday of this week

PICTURE: MARK THOMAS

## Use of food banks soars—but minister 'welcomes' them

**HATED WORK** and pensions secretary Iain Duncan Smith tried to laugh off criticism for driving people into food poverty last week. He said, "I welcome food banks."

Food banks, trade unions and academic studies have identified the main causes of increased food bank use.

These are benefit sanctions and delays that leave claimants with no

income at all for weeks, as well as the bedroom tax.

But Duncan Smith said, "I don't accept the single cause of that is to do with the welfare reforms, quite the contrary."

There are at least 1,500 food banks in Britain. A parliamentary inquiry last year found "demand for emergency food assistance is increasing, and sometimes increasing dramatically". The



The millionaire axeman

Tories have pledged that they would freeze child benefit for two years.

A new report by the TUC shows that Tory changes already reduced child benefit for a family of two children by £309.40 a year. The freeze would increase this to £470.60.

Protests are set for budget day across Britain, and campaigners have called a day of action on Saturday 25 July.

## Therapy or sanctions

**AROUND 100** people marched on Streatham job centre in south London on Friday of last week.

It was the first day of a test scheme bringing in Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) therapists.

Local mental health services have now been moved into the same building.

Unemployed people

could be forced to choose between therapy or a "sanction" that cuts off their benefits.

Nicola Saunders from the Alliance of Counsellors and Psychotherapists told Socialist Worker, "This is another policy aimed at reducing the welfare budget, just like workfare and testing if disabled people are 'fit for work'."